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Bennett's  
Latin Grammar  

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Appendix









# APPENDIX

TO

## BENNETT'S LATIN GRAMMAR

FOR TEACHERS AND ADVANCED STUDENTS

BY

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60823  
3/2/01

ALLYN AND BACON

Boston and Chicago

OTW 907

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Norwood Press  
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## PREFACE.



My purpose in the following pages has been to give such suggestions concerning the sounds, inflections, and syntax of the Latin language, as experience has shown are likely to prove of service to teachers and advanced students. In the former part of the work I have drawn freely upon the standard manuals of Seelmann, Brugmann, Stolz, and Lindsay; in the syntax I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness not only to Delbrück's recently published *Vergleichende Syntax*, but especially, for the moods, to the syntactical studies of Professor W. G. Hale, of the University of Chicago.

For the kind criticism of friends who have read my manuscript and have followed the book through the press, I desire here to extend my thanks, especially to Professors H. C. Elmer and George P. Bristol of Cornell University, Professors George Hempl, Francis W. Kelsey, and John C. Rolfe, of the University of Michigan, and Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania. The chapter on Relative Clauses is the work of Professor Elmer.

C. E. B.

ITHACA, July 18, 1895.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS.

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*Archiv* = Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*.

Vols. I.-IX. Leipzig, 1884-1895.

CIA. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. Berlin, 1873 ff.

CIG. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin, 1828 ff.

CIL. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863 ff.

E. L. D. = Lewis, *Elementary Latin Dictionary*. New York, 1891.

*Gr.* or *Grammar* = the author's *Latin Grammar*. Boston, 1895.

Gröber's *Grundriss* = Gröber's *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*.  
Strassburg, 1888 ff.

Keil = *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil. Leipzig, 1855 ff.

Körting, *Wörterbuch* = Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891.

Marx = Marx, *Hilfsbüchlein für die Aussprache der Vokale in positionslangen Silben*. Berlin, 1889.

References by § are to the *Appendix* itself.

Words marked with a star are hypothetical forms.

Vowels printed without the macron (e.g. *a*, *e*) are short; for greater precision these are sometimes printed with a breve (e.g. *ă*, *ĕ*).

## CHAPTER I.

### THE ALPHABET.

1. 1. The Latin alphabet is a development of that type of the Greek alphabet known as the Chalcidian. In the widest sense the term 'Chalcidian' is applied to all the non-Ionic Greek alphabets; in a narrower sense it designates the special alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies of lower Italy and Sicily. These colonies, settled originally from Chalcis in Euboea, date from very early times. Cumae, in fact, is said to have been founded as far back as 1050 B.C. But most of the Chalcidian settlements do not antedate the eighth century B.C. It was probably from the Campanian colonies of Cumae and Neapolis that some time in the sixth century B.C. the Chalcidian alphabet was introduced into Latium. Special peculiarities of this alphabet are the following:

2. The character  $\Xi$  was lacking,  $\chi$  was used as  $x$ , and  $\Psi$  ( $\Psi$ ) as *ch*. *Lambda*, which in Ionic had the form  $\Lambda$ , took in Chalcidian the form  $\lambda$ , while *Gamma* (Attic  $\Gamma$ ) was C. Besides K, another character for the *k*-sound existed, *viz.*  $\varphi$ , called *Koppa*. For *Rho*, R was employed as well as P, the ordinary Attic form of that letter.

In conformity with its Chalcidian origin the earliest Latin alphabet consisted of the following twenty-one characters: A B C (=g) D E F Z H I K  $\lambda$  M N O  $\square$   $\varphi$  R  $\leq$  T V X.

3. Of these characters,  $\lambda$  subsequently became L. C in course of time came to be used for K, which then disappeared except in a few words: *Kalendae*, *Kaesō*, *Karthāgō*. For the *g*-sound a new character, G, was invented, by appending a tag to the older C. But permanent traces of the original value of C as *g*, remained in

the abbreviations *C.* for *Gāius* and *Cn.* for *Gnaeus*. The new character G took the place hitherto occupied by Z, which now disappeared. These changes are ascribed, with some degree of probability, to Appius Claudius, Censor 312 B.C. □ was at first open as in Greek, but subsequently became P.

The Greek alphabet had no character to represent the sound of *f*, but the Greek Digamma (F) represented a closely related sound, *v*. This F, combined with H (apparently to indicate the voiceless character of the sound, as opposed to that of the Greek Digamma), was introduced into the early Italian alphabets to designate the sound of *f*. An example is FHEFHAKED (= *fefaced*, i.e. *fecit*), in the earliest extant Latin inscription, CIL. xiv. 4123. Later, the H was discarded and F used alone.

4. The Greek letters Θ (θ), Φ (φ), and Ψ Ψ (χ), being aspirates, represented sounds which did not originally exist in the Latin language. These characters were accordingly introduced as numerals, Θ as 100, Φ as 1000, Ψ as 50. Subsequently Θ became C, and finally Ċ. This last form resulted perhaps from associating the character with the initial letter of *centum*. Φ became first M, and later M, a change facilitated probably by association with the initial letter of *mīlle*.

The half of Φ, viz. D, was used to designate 500. Ψ (50) became successively J, L, and L.

5. In Cicero's day Y and Z were introduced for the transliteration of Greek words containing *υ* or *ζ*. Previously Greek *υ* had been transliterated by *u*, and *ζ* by *s* (initial), *ss* (medial), as, *Olympio*, *sona* (ζώνη), *atticisso* (ἀττικίζω).

The Emperor Claudius proposed the introduction of three new characters, J to represent *v* (i.e. our *w*), Ɔ (*Antisigma*) for *ps*, and ʃ to represent the middle sound between *ñ* and *ž*, as seen in *optumus*, *optimus*, etc. These characters were employed in some inscriptions of Claudius's reign, but gained no further recognition.



On the alphabet in general, see KIRCHHOFF, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets*. 4th ed. Berlin, 1887.

LINDSAY, *Latin Language*. Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1894. p. 1 ff.

*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Article *Alphabet*.

JOHNSON'S *Encyclopaedia*, Article *Alphabet*.

2. In writing *j* in the *Grammar* to represent the Latin *i-cōnsonāns*, reference has been had mainly to practical considerations. Typographical distinction of the vowel and consonant sounds of *i* is absolutely essential to enable the pupil to tell them apart. Where *i* is written for both sounds there is nothing to show the student that *āiō* is *ājō*; that *āiunt* is *ājunt*, or that *Gāius* is *Gā-ī-us*. Moreover, it is still usual to distinguish between the vowel and consonant *u*, by writing *u* for the former, and *v* for the latter. The two cases are perfectly parallel. See Deecke, *Erläuterungen zur lateinischen Schulgrammatik*, p. 8, Zusatz 2.

## CHAPTER II.

### PRONUNCIATION.

**3. Sources of Information.** — Our sources of knowledge concerning the ancient pronunciation of Latin are the following :

*a) Statements of Roman writers.* — Much has been left by the Roman grammarians on the subject of pronunciation, — far more in fact than is commonly supposed. The remains of the grammatical writers as collected and edited by Keil under the title *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1855–1880) fill eight large quarto volumes. These writers cover the entire field of grammar, and most of them devote more or less space to a systematic consideration of the sounds of the letters. As representative writers on this subject may be cited : Terentianus Maurus (fl. 185 A.D.), author of a work entitled *de Litteris, Syllabis, Metris*; Marius Victorinus (fl. 350 A.D.) ; Martianus Capella (fourth or fifth century A.D. ; not in Keil's collection) ; Priscian (fl. 500 A.D.), author of the *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri xviii*. Even the classical writers have often contributed valuable bits of information, notably Varro in his *de Lingua Latina*, Cicero in his rhetorical works, Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria*, and Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae*.

*b)* A second important source of evidence is found in *inscriptions*. The total body of these is very great. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, in process of publication since 1863, consists already of fifteen large folio volumes, some of them in several parts, and is not yet completed. These inscriptions disclose many peculiarities of orthography which are exceedingly instructive for the pronunciation. Thus such spellings as *VRPS*,

PLEPS, by the side of VRBS, PLEBS, clearly indicate the assimilation of *b* to *p* before *s*. Even the blunders of the stone-cutters often give us valuable clues, as, for example, the spelling ACLETARVM for ATHLETARVM, which shows that the *th* was practically a *t*; otherwise we could not account for its confusion with *c*. See § 31.

c) *Greek transliterations of Latin words* constitute a third source of knowledge. Not only Greek writers (especially the historians of Roman affairs), but also Greek inscriptions afford us abundant evidence of this kind. Thus the Greek Κικέρων (*Cicero*) furnishes support for the *k*-sound of Latin *c*; while Λιονία and Ουαλεντία bear similarly upon the *π*-sound of Latin *v*. The inscriptions are naturally much more trustworthy guides in this matter than our texts of the Greek authors, for we can never be certain that the Mss. have not undergone alterations in the process of transmission to modern times.

d) *The Romance languages* also, within limits, may be utilized in determining the sounds of Latin. See Gröber's *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, Vol. I., Strassburg, 1888; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Vol. I., Leipzig, 1890.

e) *The sound-changes of Latin* itself, as analyzed by etymological investigation. Modern scholars, particularly in the last forty years, have done much to promote the scientific study of Latin sounds and forms, and, while much remains to be done, the ultimate solution of many problems has already been reached. As representative works in this field may be cited:

CORSSEN, W. *Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache*. 2 vols., 2d ed. Leipzig, 1868; 1870. This work has been largely superseded by more recent publications, but is still valuable for its collections of material.

BRUGMANN, K. *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. Vol. I. Strassburg, 1886.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> English translation under the title: *Elements of Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*. Strassburg, 1887. A second edition of Vol. I. of the *Grundriss* is in preparation.

STOLZ, F. *Lateinische Grammatik* in MÜLLER'S *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. II. 2d ed. Nördlingen, 1889.

STOLZ, F. *Lautehre der Lateinischen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1894.

LINDSAY, W. M. *The Latin Language*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894.

An admirable summary of the latest researches.

As special works on pronunciation alone may be cited :

SEELMANN, E. *Die Aussprache des Latein*. Heilbronn, 1885. The most important work on the subject yet published.

ROBY, H. J. *Latin Grammar*. Vol. I., 4th ed. pp. xxx-xc. London, 1881.

ELLIS, ALEXANDER. *The Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*. London, 1874. A discussion of special problems.

See also the chapter on 'Pronunciation' in the work of Lindsay above cited.

## SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

### THE VOWELS.

4. a. The consensus of the Romance languages indicates clearly that  $\bar{a}$  was pronounced substantially as in English *father*. In the absence of any specific evidence to the contrary, we may safely believe that  $\tilde{a}$  had the same sound *qualitatively*; *in quantity*, of course, it was less prolonged.

5. e. Long *e* was probably *close*, *i.e.* spoken with the lips relatively closed. *Cf.* such inscriptional spellings as PLEIBES, LEIGIBVS (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 73). Short *e* was *open*, *i.e.* spoken with the lips relatively open. These differences in the pronunciation of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\tilde{e}$  are confirmed by the testimony of the grammarians, *e.g.* Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi. 33. 3) ; Servius (Keil, iv. 421. 17) ; Pompeius (Keil, v. 102. 4). The Romance languages also, though they have lost the original quantitative distinctions of the Latin, have preserved with great fidelity the qualitative distinctions of the close and open *e*. See § 36. 5. It is to be

noted that the relation between Latin  $\bar{e}$  and  $\check{e}$  stands in marked contrast with the relation existing between Greek  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$ . In Greek it was the long  $e$ -sound ( $\eta$ ) that was open;  $\epsilon$  was close. It should further be observed that in our normal English speech it is unusual and difficult to pronounce a pure  $\bar{e}$ . We regularly add an  $\check{i}$ -sound, and pronounce a diphthong,  $\bar{e}\check{i}$ , e.g. in *fatal*, *paper*, etc.

6. i. 1. Long  $i$  was probably somewhat more open than English  $i$  in *machine* (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 41; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, § 32). The evidence for this is found in the occurrence of  $ei$  in inscriptions as a graphical variation of  $\bar{i}$ , e.g. AVDEIRE, CIL. i. 196; VEIVOS; FAXSEIS. Short  $i$  was also probably an open sound, as suggested by its occasional representation in inscriptions by  $\check{e}$ , e.g. TEMPESTATEVVS (= *-ibus*).

2. Before the labials  $p$ ,  $b$ ,  $f$ ,  $m$ , an earlier  $\check{u}$  changed to  $\check{i}$  in many words at about the close of the Republican period. Examples are :

<i>recuperō</i>	<i>reciperō</i>
<i>libidō</i>	<i>libidō</i>
<i>pontufex</i>	<i>pontifex</i>
<i>lacruma</i>	<i>lacrima</i>
<i>māxumus, optumus, etc.</i>	<i>māximus, optimus.</i>

Quintilian, i. 7. 21, tells us that Julius Caesar was said to have been the first to introduce the new orthography. Inscriptions, however, show the occasional use of  $i$  for  $u$  before his time. In i. 4. 8 Quintilian further states that the sound was intermediate between  $i$  and  $u$ . The Emperor Claudius, it will be remembered, endeavored to secure recognition for a special character (𐌚) to represent this intermediate sound, which probably was approximately that of French  $u$ , German  $ü$ . This view gains support from the occasional employment of  $y$  for  $i$  in words of the category under discussion, e.g. CONTYBERNALIS CIL. ix. 2608; ILLACRYMANT. This  $y$  had the sound of  $ü$ . See below under  $y$ .

7. *o*. Long *o* was *close*, i.e. nearer the *u*-sound; short *o* was relatively open, that is, nearer the *a*-sound. This is clearly indicated by the descriptions of the sound as given by the Roman grammarians, e.g. Terentianus Maurus (Keil, vi. 329. 130-134); Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi. 33. 3-8); Servius (Keil, vi. 421. 17-19); it is further confirmed by the testimony of the Romance languages, which, as in case of *e* (see above), have faithfully preserved the qualitative character of Latin *ō* and *ǫ*, while they have lost the original quantitative distinction. See § 36. 5.

Short *o* should never be pronounced like English *ǫ* in *hot*, *top*, *rock*, *not*, etc. English *ǫ* in these words really has a short *a*-sound. Latin *ǫ* was a genuine *o*-sound. English *ōbey* and *melody* well exemplify it.

8. *u*. Short *u* was relatively more open than *ū*, as is shown by the frequency with which Latin inscriptions show *ǫ* for *ū*, as *ERODITVS*, *SECONDVS*, *NOMERO*. The Romance languages also have *o* for Latin *ū*, as Italian *lova* (*lūpus*); *sovra* (*super*); *ove* (*ubi*), etc.

9. *y*. In conformity with its origin, Latin *y* (= Greek *υ*; see § 1. 5) had the sound of French *u*, German *ü*. Cf. Quintilian, xii. 10. 27, who mentions the sound as different from any existent in native Latin words. See Blass, *Pronunciation of Greek*, § 12.

### THE DIPHTHONGS.

10. *ae*. 1. The original form of this diphthong was *ai*, a spelling which prevailed till about 100 B.C., e.g. *AIDILIS*, *QVAIRATIS* in the Scipio inscriptions (CIL. i. 32. 34). The sound was a genuine diphthong (that of *ai* in English *aisle*), and continued such throughout the classical period. Cf. the use of *ai* in Greek transliteration of Latin words, e.g. *πραιτωρ*, *Καίσαρ*. Terentius Scaurus (first half of second century A.D.) bears testimony to the diphthongal character of the sound, when he says (Keil, vii. 16. 9),

à propos of the orthography, that *ae* is a more accurate designation than *ai*, as the second element is an *e*-sound. This difference between *ai* and *ae*, though a real and perceptible one, was probably not very great.

2. By the fourth century A.D., however, *ae* had altered its character and had become a monophthong. This change had begun in the first century A.D., or even earlier. It originated probably in the rustic and provincial speech, but did not become general till late. Conclusive evidence of the new pronunciation is found in the frequent occurrence in inscriptions of such spellings as CESAR, HEC (= *haec*), QVESTOR, etc. But this orthography does not become frequent till after 300 A.D. See Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 224 f.

11. *oe*. The earlier form of *oe* was *oi*. But *oi* regularly developed to *ū*, e.g. *ūtilis* for earlier *oitilis*; *ūnus* for *oinos*. In a few words *oi* resisted this change and became later *oe*, e.g. *moenia* (yet *mūniō*), *foedus*, etc. The sound was a genuine diphthong throughout the classical period. In the vulgar language we find traces of a monophthongal pronunciation in the third and fourth centuries A.D., a change which ultimately became prevalent. The evidence tends to show that *ae*, *oe*, and *e* in the late centuries became extremely similar in sound, a fact which gives us the key to the hopeless confusion of spelling in our mediaeval Mss. of the Latin writers. Thus we find *caelum* written as *coelum*, a spelling doubtless suggested in part by its fancied derivation from the Greek κοῖλος 'hollow'; *cēna*, 'dinner,' appears variously as *caena*, and *coena*, the latter spelling being perhaps a result of association with Greek κοινός 'common,' i.e. 'the common meal'; *nē*, the asseverative particle, is often written *nae*, probably another instance of Greek influence. Cf. *vaí*, 'verily.' Other instances of confusion are *cerimōnia* for *caerimōnia*; *cemētērium* for *coemētērium* (Gr. κοιμητήριον); *moestus* for *maestus*; *foemina* for *fēmina*; *caeterī* for *cēterī* (probably owing to the influence of Gr. καὶ ἕτεροι);



*coelebs* for *caelebs*; *coecus* for *caecus*. Some of these false forms are unfortunately still printed in our texts of the classical writers.

12. *au* was a true diphthong, pronounced like Eng. *ow* in *how*. Cf. Greek transliterations of Latin proper names such as Παουλλίνη (*Paulīna*), Φαοστίνος (*Faustīnus*).

13. *eu* appears in Latin in only a few words, and in these is of secondary origin. Primitive Latin *eu* early became *ou*, whence *ū*. The chief Latin words that have *eu* are: *ceu*, *neu*, *seu*, *neuter*, *neutiquam*, *neutique*, *heu*. The combination appears also in numerous proper names borrowed from the Greek, e.g. *Eurōpa*, *Teucer*. In all these the sound was that of a genuine diphthong, i.e. an *e*-sound quickly followed by an *u*-sound, both being uttered under one stress.

14. *ui* appears to have been a genuine diphthong in *cui*, *huic*, and *hui* (the interjection). In the first two of these words *ui* was certainly of secondary origin. Quintilian tells us (i. 7. 27) that in his boyhood (about 50 A.D.) *quoi* was still in use, and that its pronunciation was substantially identical with that of *quī* (the Nom.). Some scholars have accordingly inferred that *quī* and *cui* were simply graphically distinct, being alike in pronunciation. Consistently with this view they regard the *u* in *cui* as = *v*, and mark the *i* long, viz. *cuī*. But if the facts were thus, we should expect *cui*, when resolved into two syllables in verse by metrical license, to be an iambus (◡ —). Such is not the case. On the other hand, we find it appearing as a pyrrhic (◡ ◡), and that, too, at just about the time when, if we may credit Quintilian, *cui* began to supersede *quoi*, viz. soon after 50 A.D. Apparently the earliest instance of the resolution mentioned is in Seneca, *Troades* 852 *cūcumque* (55 A.D.?). Subsequently in Martial and Juvenal such resolutions are frequent. See Neue, *Formenlehre der Lateinischen Sprache*, 3d ed., ii, p. 454. Very late writers (e.g. Prudentius, 400 A.D., Venantius Fortunatus, 600 A.D.), it is true,



sometimes have *cũ* in verse, but there is apparently no trace of any such resolution in the early centuries of the Empire. The *i* of *cui* would therefore seem to have been short, and to have blended with the *u* to produce a diphthong. It must, of course, be conceded that the pronunciation of *cui* could not have been widely different from *quĩ*; yet it must have been sufficiently so to keep the two words distinctly separate in Roman speech, a view which receives the very strongest confirmation in the fact that the modern Italian has *chi* as the descendant of Latin *quĩ*, but *cui* (with diphthongal *ui*) as the descendant of Latin *cui*.

## THE CONSONANTS.

### THE SEMIVOWELS, *j*, *v*.

15. J. 1. *J* (Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 231 ff.) was like our *y* in *yes*. Evidences:

*a*) A single character (I) sufficed with the Romans to indicate both the vowel *i* and the consonant *j* (*i cōnsonāns*). This would indicate a close proximity in sound between *i* and *j*, a proximity manifestly existing if Latin *j* was English *y*. Cf., for example, English *New York* with a hypothetical *New Ī-ork*. In any English word the vowel *i* may easily be made to pass into the semivowel *y* by energetically stressing either the preceding or the following vowel.

*b*) The Roman grammarians nowhere suggest any essential difference in sound between the vowel and consonant functions of the character I, as they almost certainly would have done had the consonant been other than the corresponding semivowel. On the other hand, the grammarians repeatedly suggest a close proximity in the pronunciation of *i* and *j*. Thus Nigidius Figulus is cited by Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* xix. 14. 6) as warning against the conception that I in IAM, IECVR, IOCVS is a vowel. Such a warning can have no meaning whatever, except upon the assump-

tion that the sound of *j* was very close to that of *i*, *i.e.* was the semivowel *y*. Cf. Quintilian i. 4. 10.

c) In the poets, *i*, when followed by another vowel, often becomes consonantal, uniting with the preceding consonant to make position; *e.g.* *abietis*, *parietem*, *ariete* become *abjetis*, *par-jetem*, *arjete*. In these cases the consonant sound can have been none other than that of the semivowel *y*. Cf. also *nunciam* (trisyllabic), compounded of *nunc* and *jam*; *etiam*, compounded of *et* and *jam*.

d) Greek transliterations of Latin words employ *ι* as the nearest equivalent of Latin *j*, *e.g.* *Ἰούλιος* (= *Julius*).

2. In the last centuries of the Empire *j* seems to have progressed, at least in the vulgar speech, to a genuine spirant, probably similar in sound to that of *z* in the English word *azure*. Thus in late inscriptions (from the third century on) we find such spellings as ZESU (= *Jesu*), ZUNIOR (= *junior*), SUSTUS (= *justus*), GIOVE (= *Jove*). Cf. Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 239.

3. Intervocalic *j* had a tendency to develop an *i*-glide before it, which was sometimes expressed in writing. Inscriptions show MAIOR, POMPEIIVS. According to Quintilian i. 4. 11, Cicero wrote AIO, MAIA.

16. 1. V. *V* is a labial semivowel, with the sound of English *w*. It corresponds to the vowel *u*, just as *j* corresponds to the vowel *i*.

The evidences:

a) A single character (*V*) sufficed with the Romans to indicate the vowel *u* (*u vōcālīs*) and the consonant *u* (*u cōnsonāns*). This indicates a close proximity in sound between *u* and *v*, — a proximity which manifestly existed, if Latin *v* was English *w*. For the vowel *u* naturally passes into *w* before a vowel whenever either the preceding or following syllable is energetically stressed. For example, *tenuia* easily becomes *tenvia*, and must frequently be so read in verse.

b) The Roman grammarians (at least down to the close of the first century A.D.) nowhere suggest any essential difference in sound between the vowel and consonant functions of the character *V*, no more than in the case of the analogous *l*. On the other hand, just as in the case of *l*, they repeatedly suggest that *u* and *v* were very similar. Thus Nigidius Figulus, cited above in connection with the discussion of *j*, observes in the same passage (Gellius xix. 14. 6) that initial *V* in *VALERIUS*, *VOLVSIVS*, is not a vowel, an observation which would be pointless unless the sound of *v* had been closely similar to that of *u*, *i.e.* had been that of *w*. Quintilian in i. 4. 10 gives a similar warning.

c) The same Nigidius Figulus (Gellius x. 4. 4) says that in pronouncing *vōs* we thrust out the edges of our lips, which conforms physiologically to the pronunciation of *v* as English *w*.

d) The Greek ordinarily transliterates Latin *v* by means of *ov*, as *Οὐαλέριος* (*Valerius*), *Οὐολσκοί* (*Volsi*), *Λιβία* (*Livia*).

e) *U* and *v* often interchange in the same words. Thus early Latin *lā-ru-a* (e.g. Plautus *Captivi* 598) appears later as a disyllable, *lārva*. Similarly *mī-lu-os* appears later as *mīlvus*. In verse, *silva* occurs repeatedly as *si-lu-a*, e.g. Horace, *Odes* i. 23. 4. On the other hand, *tenuis*, *puella*, etc., often appear as *tenvis*, *pvella*, etc. This interchange is conceivable only upon the supposition that the vowel and consonant sounds were closely akin. Cf. also Velius Longus (close of the first century A.D.) in Keil vii. 75. 10, to the effect that *a-cu-am*, 'I shall sharpen,' and *aquam*, 'water' (where *qu* is simply the traditional inconsistent spelling for *qv*), were liable to confusion in his day. Caesellius (see Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 234) cannot say whether *tenuis* is a disyllable or a trisyllable; while in the Romance languages we sometimes find doublets pointing to parallel Latin forms, one with *u* *vōcālīs*, another with *u* *cōnsonāns*, e.g. Old French *teneve* (representing a Latin *te-nu-is*) and *tenve* (representing a Latin *ten-vis*). Italian *soave* points to the existence of a Latin *su-ā-vis* by the side of *suā-* (*i.e.* *svā-*) *vis*. Cf. Seelmann, p. 234.

f) The phonetic changes incident to word-formation also point in the direction of the *w*-sound of *v*. Thus from *faveō* (root *fav-*) we get *fau-tor* (for \**fav-tor*); from *lavō* (root *lav-*) we get *lau-tus* (for \**lav-tus*). In such cases the semivowel *v* naturally becomes the vowel *u* and combines with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong. Had *v* been a spirant, either labio-dental, like our English *v*, or bilabial, it would naturally have become *f* before *t* in the foregoing examples. Cf., for example, our English *haf to* (colloquial) for *hav(e) to*.

g) The contracted verb-forms, such as *amāstī* for *amāvistī*, *dēlēstī* for *dēlēvistī*, *audīstī* for *audīvistī*, *commōssem* for *commōvissem*, all point to a semi-vocalic sound for *v*, since this sound easily disappears between vowels in an unstressed syllable. Cf. English *Hawarden*, pronounced *Hārden*; *toward*, pronounced *tōrd*.

The evidence given under f) and g) holds, of course, only for the formative period of the language; but it is valuable as corroborative testimony. For Latin *v* is all the more likely to have been a semivowel in the historical period, if it was such immediately anterior to that period.

h) Several anecdotes found among ancient writers give further confirmation of the similarity in sound of *u* and *v*. Thus Cicero (*de Divinatione* ii. 84) relates that, when Marcus Crassus was preparing to set sail from Brundisium on his ill-fated expedition to the East, he heard a vender of figs on the street cry out *Cauneās*, really the name of a variety of figs, but which Cicero suggests was intended by the gods as a warning to Crassus, viz. *cav(e) n(ē) cās*, *don't go*.

2. While the above evidence may be accepted as fairly conclusive for the pronunciation of Lat. *v* as *w* in the best period, indications are not wanting that it had begun to change to a spirant sound before the period of the decline. The earliest testimony on this point is that of Velius Longus (close of the first century A.D.), who speaks of *v* as having a certain *aspirātiō*, e.g. in

*valente*, *prīmītiwō* (Keil vii. 58. 17). This reference to *aspīrātiō* hints at the development of *v* from its earlier value as a bilabial semivowel to a bilabial spirant, somewhat similar to our English *v*, except that our *v* is labio-dental. This view is confirmed by the fact that, beginning with the second century A.D., we note that *v* is confused with *b*, which had also become a bilabial spirant at this period. This confusion, which increases as time goes on, reaches its height in the third century A.D. Examples are: BIGINTI (= *vīgintī*) ; VENE (= *bene*) ; FAVIO (= *Fabiō*).

3. Some scholars have sought further confirmation of the spirant character for the period referred to (100 A.D. and afterwards) in the use of Greek  $\beta$  as a transliteration of Latin *v*. Beginning with about 100 A.D., we find  $\beta$  frequently employed in Greek inscriptions in place of earlier *ov* for such transliterations, e.g. *κονβέντος* (*conventus*) ; *βέρνα* (*verna*) ; *Καλβέινος* (*Calvīnus*). Similarly our text of Plutarch (about 100 A.D.) usually has  $\beta$  in Latin words (e.g. *Βαλέριος*, *Βένους* = *Venus*) where earlier Greek writers mostly employed *ov*. Now it is claimed (cf. Blass, *Pronunciation of Greek*, p. 109) that Greek  $\beta$  at this time (beginning of the second century A.D.) had become a bilabial spirant. However this may be, little support would be gained from that fact for the pronunciation of Latin *v*. For while it is true that the use of  $\beta$  for *v* assumes great frequency from 100 A.D., yet the earlier spelling *ov* still remains the predominant one. Eckinger, *Orthographie Lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften*, p. 87, gives 234 instances of *ov* as against 100 of  $\beta$  in Greek inscriptions of the second century A.D., while often the same inscription exhibits both spellings. Moreover, occasional instances of  $\beta$  = *v* occur as early as the last years of the Republic. Eckinger, p. 87, cites five examples from the first century B.C., and twenty-one from the first century A.D. The facts seem to indicate that the Latin sound was not adequately represented by either *ov* or  $\beta$ ; consequently no permanent equivalent was ever adopted. It is, therefore, perfectly conceivable that Latin *v* should have been transliterated by Greek

$\beta$ , even at a time when the latter sound had not progressed to its spirant stage. In fact, it is quite possible that the confusion in Latin itself, which resulted in writing *b* for *v*, may have contributed to the increasing frequency in the employment of  $\beta$  as against earlier *ov* in Greek transliterations of Latin words. The two phenomena coincide so accurately in time that the connection suggested becomes extremely probable.

Even if Greek  $\beta$  had by 100 A.D. become a bilabial spirant (as it certainly did ultimately), yet this would not necessarily prove anything for the pronunciation of Latin *v*. For the bilabial spirant is very easily confused with the semivowel. Thus the dialectal pronunciation of German *Wein*, *Winter* with an initial bilabial spirant easily deceives American and English travellers, to whom this sound is not familiar, and produces the impression that an English *w* is pronounced. The evidence of the Greek, therefore, is purely negative, and while it seems probable, as already indicated, that Latin *v* at about the beginning of the second century A.D. had begun to become a bilabial spirant, this conclusion rests upon other grounds than the evidence of Greek transliterations.

4. Gothic and Anglo-Saxon loan-words have been thought by some to confirm the *w*-sound of Latin *v*, but without reason. Gothic and Anglo-Saxon *w*, it is true, appears regularly as the representative of *v* in words borrowed from the Latin, e.g. Gothic *wein*, 'wine' (Lat. *vīnum*) ; *airwaggeli*, 'gospel' (Lat. *ēvangeliūm*) ; Anglo-Saxon *weall*, 'wall' (Lat. *vāllum*) ; *-wic* 'town' (Lat. *vīcus*). But here again it is not only possible but extremely probable that the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon gave only an approximate representation of the Latin sound. Gothic could hardly have borrowed from the Latin before the fourth century, Anglo-Saxon not before the fifth, and it has been shown above that at this period Latin *v* had already become a bilabial spirant.

5. Others have cited Claudius's attempted introduction of  $\Delta$  for *v* as an indication that *v*, as early as Claudius's day (50 A.D.), had progressed beyond the semivocalic stage. Claudius, it is



urged, while suggesting the employment of a new character for *u cōnsonāns* (*v*), did not suggest a new character for *i cōnsonāns* (*j*). Hence it is claimed that the relation of *v* to *u*, at this time, must have been different from that of *j* to *i*; as *j* was a semivowel, *v*, it is claimed, could have been nothing less than a spirant. But these conclusions would be valid only upon the assumption that Claudius was a competent phonetic observer, and was not acting from mere caprice. Neither of these assumptions would be safe. Moreover, there is no other indication that *v* had progressed beyond its value as a semivowel as early as Claudius's day.

6. It may be added in conclusion that the development of Latin *v* was not complete even when the sound had passed from that of a semivowel to that of a bilabial spirant. Later still (fifth or sixth century A.D.?) the bilabial spirant became a labio-dental spirant (Eng. *v*), and with that value passed into the Romance languages, — French, Italian, *etc.*

#### THE LIQUIDS, *l*, *r*.

17. **L** seems to have been pronounced differently, according to its position in a word. No fewer than three different sounds of the letter were recognized by Pliny the Elder, as cited by Priscian (Keil ii. 29. 9), *viz.*, 1) an *exīlis sonus*, as in the second *l* of *ille*, *Metellus*; 2) a *pinguis sonus*, after a mute or at the end of a word or syllable, as in *clārus*, *sōl*, *silva*; 3) a *medius sonus*, *viz.* when initial, as in *lectus*. Just what the differences were which were involved in these three modes of articulation cannot now be determined. Lindsay (*Latin Language*, p. 90) thinks that Pliny's *exīlis sonus* and *medius sonus* were our normal English *l*, as is the case in the Italian descendants of the Latin words cited by Pliny. The *pinguis sonus*, Lindsay suggests, consisted in an *l*-glide preceding or following the *l* itself, *e.g.* *a'lter*, *cl'ārus*. The basis for this view he finds in the Romance development of this *l pingue*; *e.g.* *clārus* becomes Italian *chiaro*; *flūmen* becomes *fiume*; *alter* becomes French *autre*.

18. **R** was trilled with the tip of the tongue, as is clearly described by Terentianus Maurus (Keil, vi. 332. 238 f.) and Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi. 34. 15). The name *littera canīna*, given to *r* as early as Lucilius (ix. 29, M.) agrees excellently with the enunciation attributed to the letter.

#### THE NASALS, *m*, *n*.

19. **M**. Initial and medial *m* probably had the sound of normal English *m*. As regards final *m*, the true pronunciation can probably never be satisfactorily determined. When the following word began with a vowel, final *m* was only imperfectly uttered. Cf. Quintilian, ix. 4. 40: 'When *m* is final and comes in contact with the initial vowel of the following word so that it can pass over to the latter, though it is written, yet it is only slightly uttered, as in *multum ille, quantum erat*, so as to give the sound of a new letter, as it were. For it does not absolutely vanish, but is obscured, and is a sort of sign that the two vowels do not become merged.' In ix. 4. 39 Quintilian tells us that Cato the Elder wrote *diee* for *diem*, evidently in recognition of the vanishing value of the final nasal. Velius Longus also tells us (Keil, vii. 80, 12 ff.) that Verrius Flaccus, who lived under Augustus, proposed a mutilated *M*, viz. *M'*, to indicate the sound of final *m* before an initial vowel. Seelmann (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 356), following the above statement of Quintilian, defines the sound in question as a 'bilabial nasal spirant with partial closure.' This seems a just statement. Cf. also Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 62. Evidently the sound must have been quite inconsiderable, as it did not interfere with the slurring of final syllables in *-m* with a following initial vowel, as is abundantly shown in poetry by the frequency of elision. Ellis (*Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, p. 60 ff., especially p. 65) interprets the testimony of Quintilian above cited to mean that final *m* was not omitted (*neque eximitur*), but was inaudible (*obscuratur*) before an initial vowel. The same scholar also maintains that every final *m* was inaudible, irrespective of the



initial sound of the following word. In case this initial sound was a consonant, Ellis (pp. 55, 65) holds that the consonant was doubled in pronunciation; e.g. *quōrum pars*, he thinks, was pronounced *quōruppars*, etc. This view, however, is based on the improbable assumption that the Italian with its *giammai* (for *giamai*), *ovvero* (for *o vero*), etc., gives the clue to the pronunciation of Latin final *m*. Latin inscriptions, it is true, in the earliest times show that final *m* was frequently omitted in writing. Thus the Scipio inscriptions, the earliest of which may antedate 250 B.C., show *m* omitted before consonants as well as before vowels, but in good inscriptions of the classical period final *m* was not omitted with any frequency; hence no argument can be drawn from this source.

**20. N. 1.** *N* was the dental nasal as *m* was the labial. When initial, *n* could hardly have differed materially from English *n* in the same situation. The same is true also of *n* in the interior of a word when followed by other dental sounds (as *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*) or a vowel. Before the gutturals, *n* took on the sound of *ng* in *sing*, e.g. in *angō*, *uncus*; i.e. *n* here became the guttural nasal, a sound as different from dental *n* as is *m*, and quite as much entitled to representation by a separate character. Nigidius Figulus recognized the individuality of the sound in calling it *n-adulterīnum* (Gellius, xix. 14. 7). Certain Roman writers, according to Priscian (Keil, ii. 30. 13), followed the analogy of the Greek, and used *g* (= *γ* nasal) for the *n-adulterīnum*, e.g. *Agchīsēs*, *agceps*, *aggulus*. The Greek phoneticians gave *γ* in such situations the name *Agma* (as distinguished from *Gamma*), and their Roman successors sometimes employed the same designation for the sound, e.g. Priscian in the passage just cited.

2. The vowel before *nf*, *ns*, as is well known, was regularly long in Latin. See § 37. Some have assumed, in consequence, that a nasal vowel was pronounced in such cases, particularly Johannes Schmidt (*Zur Geschichte des Indogermanischen Vokal-*

*ismus* I. p. 98 ff.). The chief basis of this hypothesis was found in the omission of *n* before *s* in inscriptions, e.g. COSOL (for *cōnsul*), CESOR, TRASITV. Adjectives in *-ēnsimus* and adverbs in *-iēns* were also often written *-ēsimus*, *-iēs*, e.g. *vicēsimus* or *vicēnsimus*; *vīciēs* or *vīciēns*. Velius Longus (Keil, vii. 78-79) tells us that Cicero pronounced *forēnsia* as *forēsia*, and *Megalēnsia* as *Megalēsia*, while in adjectives in *-ōsus* the *n* was permanently lost. Greek transliterations of Latin words also frequently show *σ* for *νσ* (*vs*), e.g. Κλήμης (*Clēmēs*); Κησωπίος. But all this evidence may indicate nothing more than that *n* before *s* was unstable and inclined to disappear. There is nothing to force the conclusion that nasal vowels were uttered in such cases in Latin, though it is, of course, possible that such a pronunciation existed. Whatever conclusion be drawn with regard to the nasalization of the vowel before *ns* would seem to hold also for the vowel before *n* when followed by other dentals, viz. before *nt* and *nd*. For here, too, the *n* shows quite as strong a tendency to disappear, if we may judge by the testimony of inscriptions, e.g. SECVDO (= *secundō*); TESTAMETO (= *testamentō*). No instance of the disappearance of *n* before *f* occurs prior to the fourth century A.D., and even then the phenomenon is of extremely rare occurrence, being confined to four instances, all of which are in the word *īnferus*.

See the discussion of Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, pp. 283-290.

3. It should be added that the omission of the nasal occurs sporadically in case of *m* when followed by labial sounds, as *Decebris* (= *Decembris*); *Capānum* (= *Campānum*); so also in case of *n-adulterīnum* before gutturals, as *iquīrant* (= *inquīrant*); *prīcipis* (= *prīncipis*). The phenomenon under discussion is, accordingly, a general one, and may be stated thus: The Latin nasals *m* (labial), *n* (dental), and *n-adulterīnum* (guttural), exhibit a tendency to disappear before labial, dental, and guttural sounds respectively.

4. **gn.** It has been held that *gn* was pronounced as *ngn*, i.e. as *n-adulter̄inum* + *n*. The most recent representative of this view is Brugmann (*Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, i. §§ 500, 506). Yet the evidence in favor of this theory is slight, consisting chiefly in the occasional occurrence in inscriptions of *ngn* for *gn*, e.g. CONGNATO, INGNOMINIAE. But such spellings as these could hardly have represented the prevailing usage of the best period.

5. Besides the three nasals already considered (*m*, *n*, and *n-adulter̄inum*), Seelmann (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 270) recognizes another midway in sound between *m* and *n*, which he designates by *m̄*. The evidence for the existence of this sound he finds in the statement of Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi. 16. 4 ff.) to the effect that such an intermediate sound (neither *m* nor *n*) was recognized in antiquity. Marius Victorinus compares the sound in question with the sound of the Greek nasal in *σάμβυξ*, where likewise, he observes, neither *ν* nor *μ* accurately designates the pronunciation. Seelmann suggests that such inscriptional forms as QVAMTA, TAMTA, DAMDVM, SENTENTIAM on the one hand, and DECENBRIS, SENPER, PONPA, INCONPARABILIS on the other, support by their vacillating spelling the theory propounded. The facts, however, do not seem sufficiently clear to warrant a positive conclusion in this matter.

#### THE SPIRANTS, *f*, *s*, *h*.

21. **F.** *F* is the labial spirant. In the earlier period it is probable that *f* was bilabial. This theory accords with the origin of *f*, which in most cases is the descendant of an original *bh*; it agrees also with such spellings as COMFLVONT, COMVALLEM of the Minucii inscription CIL. i. 199 (122 B.C.). Subsequently *f* became a labio-dental spirant as it is in English and in most modern European languages. At just what time this change took place is uncertain. It was complete by the close of the second century A.D., as appears from the testimony of Terentianus Maurus (Keil, vi. 332. 227).

22. **S.** *S* was a voiceless dental spirant, like English *s* in *sin*. Some scholars, as Corssen, have thought that intervocalic *s* was voiced in Latin (*i.e.* sounded like English *s* in *these*), but there is no valid support for this view, nor do the Roman grammarians anywhere hint at more than a single sound for the letter. The Gothic in loan-words transliterates intervocalic Latin *s* by *s*, which represented a voiceless sound in Gothic, *e.g.* *Kaisar* (Lat. *Caesar*). The Gothic possessed also a character for the voiced *s*-sound (*i.e.* *z*), and would undoubtedly have made use of it, had the Latin intervocalic *s* been voiced.

23. **H.** *H* was a guttural spirant and was voiceless like English *h*. The same uncertainty manifested itself in the employment of initial *h*, as is noticeable among the lower classes in England. As a result of this uncertainty words etymologically entitled to initial *h* frequently dropped it in the speech of the less cultivated, while other words acquired an *h* to which they were not historically entitled. Thus *harēna*, *haruspex*, *hirundō*, *holus*, represent the correct spelling; but these same words were frequently pronounced *arēna*, *aruspex*, *etc.*, and appear repeatedly in that form in our Mss. of the classical authors. Occasionally a word permanently lost its initial *h* even in the speech of the educated. A case in point is *ānser*, which comes from an Indo-Eur. word with initial *gh*, and should appear in Latin as *hānser* (§ 97. 3). On the other hand *erus*, *ūmor*, *umerus* are the correct forms, but these were frequently supplanted by *herus*, *hūmor*, *humerus*. The Romans were fully conscious of their defects in this particular, and Catullus in his 84th poem humorously refers to one Arrius, who said *hīnsidiās* for *īnsidiās*, and *Hīōniōs* for *Iōniōs*.

Intervocalic *h* easily vanished between like vowels, as is shown by such contractions as *nēmō* for *\*ne-hemō*; *prēndō* for *prehendō*; *praeda* for *\*prae-heda*; *etc.*

## THE MUTES.

THE VOICELESS MUTES, *t, c, k, q, p.*

**24. T.** *T* was pronounced as in English *satin*. In English, *t* before *i* followed by another vowel is regularly assibilated, *i.e.* acquires an *sh*-sound, as, for example, in the word *rational*; but Latin *t* was always a pure *t* in the classical period. Cf. such Greek transliterations as Οὐαλεντία (*Valentia*). In late imperial times (not before the fourth century) *ti* when followed by a vowel begins to show traces of assibilation. Inscriptions of this period exhibit such forms as VOCONSIVS (for *Vocontius*); SEPSIES (for *septiēs*). Probably this orthography was not exact, as the sound was rather that of our English *sh*; but the Latin had no more accurate designation. The phonetics of the change are as follows: An original *Vocontius*, for example, became first *Vocontyus*, *i.e.* the vowel *i* (very likely under the influence of extra stress upon the preceding syllable) became the semivowel *y*. In the next stage this semivowel became a spirant, the sound represented by German palatal *ch*, *viz.* *Vocont-chus*. From this, the transition to the assibilated pronunciation was easy and natural.

**25. C. I.** *C* was always pronounced like *k*. This is abundantly proved by the evidence. Thus:

a) *C* and *k* interchange in certain words, *e.g.* *Caelius*, *Calendae*, *Carthago*.

b) We have the express testimony of Quintilian (i. 7. 10), who says: 'As regards *k*, it should not be used. Some write it before *a*, but *c* has the same sound before all vowels.'

c) In Greek transliterations of Latin words we always have *κ*, not only before *a, o, u*, but also before *ε, ι*, where if anywhere we should have expected the *s*-sound of *c* to have arisen. Examples are: Κικέρων, Καῖσαρ.

d) Gothic and German loan-words borrowed from Latin (probably in the early centuries of the Christian era) show *k* for Latin *c* in all situations, e.g. Gothic *lukarn* (= Lat. *lūcerna*) ; *karkara* (= Lat. *carcer*) ; *Kaisar* (= *Caesar*) ; German *Keller* (= *cellārium*) ; *Kiste* (= *cista*).

e) The Old Umbrian of the Iguvine Tables uses in its enchoric alphabet *𐌓* for *c*, and *𐌓̄* for *ç* (an *s*-like sound developed from *c* before *e* and *i*). The New Umbrian of the same tables is written in Latin characters, and uses *C* for *c*, but *S'* (or *S*) for the *s*-like sound represented in Old Umbrian by *𐌓̄*. This makes it clear that at the time the New Umbrian tablets were written, Latin *c* before *e* and *i* had not yet become assimilated. Otherwise the New Umbrian would not have resorted to the use of a special character (*S'* or *S*) to designate this sound. See Jones, *Classical Review*, No. 1, 1893. The exact date of the New Umbrian tablets is not certain, but they can hardly have been written many years before the beginning of the Christian era.

f) No Latin grammarian ever mentions more than one sound for *c*, as some one certainly would have done, had *c* had an *s*-sound before *e* and *i*. In paradigms like *dicō*, *dicis*, *dicit*, the change of sound, had it occurred, would have been too striking to escape comment.

g) *Pulcher* (originally *pulcer*, and often so written in inscriptions) shows by its aspirated *c* (i.e. *ch*) that *c* must have been 'hard.' Similarly *anceps*, with its *n-adulter̄inum*, shows that *c* could not have had the sound of *s*. Otherwise the nasal would not have become guttural, as we are assured it did.

2. Beginning with the fourth or fifth century A.D., *c* before *i* followed by a vowel becomes assimilated, exactly as explained above in the case of *t*. Inscriptions of this period exhibit such forms as *FELISSIOSA* (= *fēliciōsa*) ; *MARZIAE* (= *Mārciae*). The phonetics of the change are precisely analogous to those already described under *t*. Later still, every *c* before *e* or *i* became *s*, e.g. *PAZE* (for *pāce*) in an inscription of the 7th century A.D.

3. This development of *ti* and *ci* (before vowels) to the same sibilant sound led naturally in mediaeval times to the greatest confusion of orthography in our Mss. of the Latin writers. Thus *condiciō* appears frequently as *conditiō*; *suspiciō* as *suspitiō*; *negōtium* as *negōcium*; *convīcium* as *convītium*. In the case of some of these words, the false forms have not yet been entirely eliminated from our texts of the classic writers.

4. *K* and *Q* are simply superfluous duplicates of *c*, as was recognized by the Romans themselves. Cf. Terentianus Maurus (Keil, vi. 331. 204 f.).

26. *P*. *P* was apparently our normal English *p* and presents no peculiarities.

#### THE VOICED MUTES, *b*, *d*, *g*.

27. *B*. *B* was like English *b* except before *s* and *t*, where it had the sound of *p*. This was simply the result of the natural assimilation of the voiced sound to the voiceless. Inscriptions show repeated instances of the phonetic spelling, e.g. *PLEPS*, *APSENS*, *OPTINVIT*, *OPSIDES*, but ordinarily such words made a concession to the etymology, and were written with *b*. Quintilian (i. 7. 7) prescribes the use of *b*: 'When I pronounce *obtineuit* our rule of writing requires that the second letter be *b*; but the ear catches *p*.'

28. *D*. *D* was like English *d*. Late in imperial times *di*, when followed by a vowel, became (through the medium of *dy*-) a sound somewhat like our *j*. The Romance languages retain this peculiarity, e.g. French *journée*, Italian *giorno*, from Latin *diurnus*.

Inscriptions show that final *d* had a tendency to become *t*, e.g. *aput*, *haut*, *at*, *quit*, for *apud*, *haud*, *ad*, *quid*. Mss. also exhibit the same spelling.



29. **G.** *G* had the sound of English *g* in *get*. That before *e* and *i* it did not have the sound of *g* in *gem*, seems clear from the following evidence :

a) The Roman grammarians give but a single sound for the letter. Had *g* before *i* been pronounced like our *j*, the alternation of sounds in a paradigm like *legō*, *legis*, or *lēgēs*, *lēgum*, would not have failed to elicit comment.

b) In the Greek transliteration of Latin words *g* is always represented by  $\gamma$ ; e.g. Γέλλιος (*Gellius*).

30. DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'GUTTURAL' AND 'PALATAL.'—'Guttural' and 'Palatal' are not interchangeable terms. Strictly speaking, 'Guttural' applies to the *c* (*k*) and *g* sounds produced in the throat, while 'Palatal' applies to those produced against the hard palate. The guttural or palatal character depends upon the following vowel. Before *a*, *o*, or *u* the *c* or *g*-sound is guttural; before *e* or *i* it is palatal. Cf. English *kill*, *gill* with *call*, *gall*. Latin *k* (used only before *a*; see § 1. 3.) was, accordingly, always guttural; the same was the case with *g*, while *c* and *g* varied in character according to the following vowel.

#### THE ASPIRATES *ph*, *ch*, *th*.

31. 1. The Latin originally had no aspirates of its own, and was not concerned with the representation of these sounds until the Romans began to borrow Greek words containing  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , or  $\theta$ . These Greek letters (as explained in the *Grammar*, § 2. 3) were equivalent to *p*, *c*, or *t* with a following *h*-sound.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that at first the Romans rendered  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\theta$  by *p*, *c*, *t* respectively. Thus in early inscriptions (down to about 100 B.C.), we find CORINTVS, DELPIS, ACILES. In the *Captivi* of

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<sup>1</sup> Initial and final *p*, *c*, and *t*, in stressed syllables, in English are also uttered with aspiration, though we do not indicate this in writing. Examples are: *top*, *lock*, *pot*.



Plautus, verse 274, the evident pun on *Thalem* . . . *talentō*, shows that the *th* was felt as substantially a *t*, and in fact there can be little doubt that *t* is what Plautus actually wrote.

2. Beginning, however, with about 100 B.C., Greek  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\theta$  came to be represented with increasing frequency in Latin by *ph*, *ch*, *th*, and by Cicero's day this had become the standard orthography. The multitude of Greek words employed in Latin at that time, along with the constantly increasing attention paid by educated Romans to the Greek language and to Greek culture generally, naturally led to this striving for greater exactness.

3. As a result we notice the aspirates gaining a foothold in certain genuine Latin words, e.g. *pulcher*, originally *pulcer*; *Gracchus* (after *Bacchus* = *Bákχos*), originally *Graccus*; *Cethēgus*, originally *Cetēgus*. An English analogy is seen in such words as *island*, *rhyme*. *Island* comes from the Anglo-Saxon *īgland*, Middle English *īland*. The *s* was introduced at a comparatively recent date as a result of associating *īland* with French *īsle* (from Latin *īnsula*). *Rhyme* comes from Anglo-Saxon *rīm*, Middle English *rime*, 'number.' The spelling *rhyme* is due to the influence of *rhythm* (Greek  $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\acute{o}s$ ), with which *rime* was associated in the folk consciousness. Cicero (*Orator*, 48. 160) tells how he himself, in deference to popular usage, was forced to abandon the pronunciation *pulcer*, *triumphōs*, *Cetēgus*, *Kartāgō*, in favor of the aspirated forms, *pulcher*, *triumphōs*, etc. But he adds that he refused to pronounce an aspirate in *sepulcrum*, *corōna*, *lacrima*, and some other words, where apparently a popular tendency existed in favor of *ch*, *ph*, *th*, as against the genuine Latin *p*, *c*, *t*. Catullus, in the epigram already cited (*Carmen*, 84), humorously alludes to Arrius's pronunciation of *commoda* as *chommoda*.

In *Bosphorus* (*Βόσπορος*) the Romans introduced an aspirate for a *tenuis*; yet the spelling *Bosporus* also occurs.

4. With the exception of *ph* the Latin aspirates retained their original character throughout the history of the language. A proof that *th* was still an aspirate in the time of the Empire is

seen in the spelling ACLETARVM for *āthlētārum*, and ACLHETICVM for *āthlēticum*, in an inscription of about 360 A.D. (Wilmanns, No. 2639). This orthography is capable of explanation only on the ground that *th* was still very close to *t* (*viz.* *t + h*). For the confusion of *c* and *t*, *cf.* the occasional English pronunciation of *at least* as *ac least*. There is not the slightest indication that Latin *th*, either in the flourishing period of the language or in its decline, had a spirant sound like our English *th* in *this* or *thin*. The Romance languages regularly have *t* as the descendant of Latin *th*, *e.g.* Italian *teatro* (Latin *theātrum*); *catolico* (*catholicus*). Similarly *ch* must have always been either a genuine aspirate or else the simple mute *c*, as shown by the Italian in such words as *carta* (Lat. *charta*), *coro* (Lat. *chorus*).

5. As regards *ph*, the aspirate seems in late imperial times (not before the fourth century A.D.) to have developed into the spirant *f*. Some have thought that this change occurred much earlier, basing their opinion upon the fact that Greek *φ*, which was regularly represented in Latin by *ph*, was always employed to transliterate Latin *f*. But *φ* was simply the nearest equivalent that the Greek alphabet possessed for representing *f*. Quintilian (i. 4. 14) shows that the two sounds were quite different, by his account of the Greek witness mentioned by Cicero who could not pronounce the Latin word *Fundānius*. This seems to show that the Greeks, not having the sound of Latin *f* (a bilabial spirant), chose *φ* (a bilabial aspirate) as the nearest equivalent, very much as Slavs and Lithuanians to-day reproduce the *f* of modern languages by *p*.

In the speech of the educated classes at Rome *ph* seems to have followed the history of *φ* in Greek. The latter sound, according to Blass (*Pronunciation of Greek*, § 28), did not become the equivalent of *f* before the third century A.D., a view substantiated for Latin by the interchange of *f* and *ph* in inscriptions of this and the following centuries. The phonetics of the change are as follows: First, we have *p + h*, *i.e.* the labial mute

+ a guttural spirant; secondly, the *h* is assimilated from the guttural spirant to the labial, *f* (*i.e.* *ph*) ; finally, the *p* is assimilated to *f*, giving *ff*, which is then simplified to *f*. Thus an original *Philippus* becomes successively *Pjilippus*, *Ffilippus*, *Filippus*. Cf. German *Pfalz* (the name of the district about Heidelberg). The mediaeval Latin designation of this was *Palantium*, whence *Phalantium*, German *Pfalz*, but dialectically often pronounced *Falz*.

#### THE DOUBLE CONSONANTS, *x*, *z*.

**32. X.** *X* is always equivalent to *cs*, never to *gz*, as it sometimes is in English. This conclusion follows from the voiceless character of Latin *s*, before which a guttural was necessarily assimilated.

**33. Z.** The value of *z* is somewhat uncertain. The character is confined exclusively to foreign words, chiefly Greek. Though introduced in the first Latin alphabet, it was early dropped (see § 1. 3), its place being taken by *G*. Long afterwards,—apparently about Cicero's time,—it was again introduced for the more accurate transcription of *ζ* in words borrowed from the Greek. Prior to this time the Latin had transliterated Greek *ζ* when initial by *s*, and by *ss* in the interior of words, *e.g.* *sōna* (= *ζώνη*) ; *atticissō* (= *ἀττικίζω*). But with the increasing use of Greek at Rome, a more accurate designation of the sound was felt to be necessary, and accordingly the Greek character itself was introduced. Cf. the care exercised at the same period in designating the aspirate in Greek loan-words.

The pronunciation of *z* in Latin must have followed the pronunciation of Greek *ζ* for the corresponding period. As regards *ζ*, while it almost certainly had the sound of *z**d* in the Attic of the 5th century B.C., it is likely that by the beginning of the Macedonian period (approximately 300 B.C.), it had become a simple *z*-sound (as in English *gaze*),—though probably somewhat prolonged; for it still 'made position,' as though a double consonant.

See Blass, *Pronunciation of Greek*, § 31. The same sound probably attached to Roman *z*. For while certain Roman grammarians explain *z* as equivalent to *sd* or *ds*, their statements are probably but the echo of Greek discussions concerning the sound of *z*. It is worthy of note that one Roman grammarian, Velius Longus, a most competent witness on phonetic questions, specifically denies that *z* is the equivalent of *sd*, and asserts that it is not a double consonant at all, but has the same quality throughout. (Keil vii. 50. 9.)

#### DOUBLED CONSONANTS.

34. When the mutes were doubled (*tt*, *dd*; *pp*, *bb*; *cc*, *gg*) there were two distinct consonant articulations. Thus in *mittō*, the first *t* was uttered with a definite muscular effort, involving closure of the organs in the *t*-position; then after a momentary pause a second muscular effort followed, with the organs in the same position. See Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 110. Such doubled consonants do not occur in English. We often write *tt*, *pp*, *cc*, etc., but pronounce only a single *t*, *p*, or *c*, e.g. *ut(t)er*, *up(p)er*, etc. But in Italian and several other modern languages these doubled consonants are frequent, e.g. Italian *bocca*, *conobbi*, *cappello*.

The same double articulation is probably to be assumed in case of doubled liquids (*ll*, *rr*), doubled nasals (*mm*, *nn*), and doubled spirants (*ff*, *ss*), though it is possible that in some words where these combinations followed a long vowel they merely indicated a liquid or spirant that was prolonged in utterance, as, for example, *vāllum*, *ūllus*.

#### DIVISION OF WORDS INTO SYLLABLES.

35. The principles given in the *Grammar* (§ 4) for the division of words into syllables are the traditional ones; yet the validity of some of them is open to question, — particularly of the principle embodied under § 4. 3: 'Such combinations of consonants as can

begin a word are joined to the following vowel.' In support of this principle may be cited the testimony of the Roman grammarians, who practically agree in prescribing the rule given above, and some of whom even include such combinations of consonants as can begin a word in Greek, *e.g.* *pt, ct, bd*. See for instance Caesellius, cited by Cassiodorus (Keil, vii. 205. 1); Terentianus Maurus (Keil, vi. 351. 879). Seelmann (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 138) cites also the testimony of inscriptions. Some of these which mark the division of words into syllables by dots, apparently follow the principle under discussion, *e.g.* CIL. vi. 77 HE · DY · PNVS; vi. 11682 VI · XII.

On the other hand it may be urged that the principle laid down by the Roman grammarians is merely an echo of rules maintained by Greek scholars for their own language. *Cf.*, for example, Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, iii. p. 1127; Theodosius (ed. Götting), p. 63, where the same laws for syllable division may be found. We have already seen indications of such irresponsible borrowing in the case of the testimony of the grammarians concerning the pronunciation of *z*. See § 33. Moreover, we find Quintilian (i. 7. 9) advocating an etymological principle of division, *e.g.* *haru-spex, abs-temius*. As regards the testimony of inscriptions, the instances cited by Seelmann are very few. Seelmann himself (p. 143) admits the paucity of the material upon which he bases his conclusion, yet indulges the hope that investigation will bring further instances to light. However, in the very inscription from which he cites HE · DY · PNVS we find CAE · LES · TI, and in another (CIL. ix. 4028), which shows the division into syllables by dots, we find SES · TV · LEI · VS; SES · TV · LE · IO.

There is also evidence of a phonetic nature bearing upon this question. It is a familiar fact that in verse, when a short vowel is followed by a mute with *l* or *r*, the poet may at his option use the syllable as long. Obviously this license consisted simply in combining the mute with the preceding vowel, while the liquid was joined with the vowel following. Thus the ordinary prose pro-

nunciation *a-grī* would in poetry become *ag-rī*, if the poet desired to use the first syllable as long, *i.e.* the open syllable of *a-grī* became a closed syllable in *ag-rī*; and a closed syllable is phonetically long. In the same way compounds whose first element ends in a mute, and whose second begins with *l* or *r* (e.g. *ab-lātus*, *ab-rūdō*), show that the mute must have been joined with the preceding vowel, making a closed syllable, since such syllables are invariably long in verse. In view of these considerations it seems most probable that in words like *doctus*, *magistrī*, *hospes*, the actual division was *doc-tus*, *ma-gis-trī*, *hos-pes*. This division gives us closed (*i.e.* long) syllables. If we divide *do-ctus*, *ma-gi-strī*, *ho-spes*, we get open syllables containing a short vowel, and it is impossible that such syllables should be metrically long, any more than a final short vowel before initial *str* or *sp*, e.g. *operā struit*, *bonā spēs*.

As regards the rule laid down in the *Grammar* (§ 4. 4), to the effect that prepositional compounds are separated into their component parts, the phonetic evidence seems altogether against this. The division *per-eō*, *inter-eā*, gives us a closed (*i.e.* long) syllable, whence it would appear that the actual division in such cases was *pe-reō*, *inte-reā*, exactly as in *ge-rō*, *te-rō*; *i.e.* compounds were treated precisely like other words.

If, therefore, phonetic considerations are entitled to weight, we shall be justified in rejecting the testimony of third and fourth century grammarians, and in assuming that they rested their statements not upon phonetic observation of contemporary speech, but upon the traditions of their Greek predecessors; and in conformity with the phonetic evidence we may lay down the following substitute for § 4. 3: In case of other combinations of consonants, a mute + *l* or *r* is joined to the following vowel, except when a long syllable is needed, in which latter case the mute is joined to the preceding vowel. Thus regularly *pa-tris*, *mā-tris*, *a-grī*; but *ag-rī*, when in poetry the first syllable is used as long. In prepositional compounds, also, whose first member ends in a

mute, and whose second begins with *l* or *r*, the mute is always joined to the preceding vowel, *i.e.* the preceding syllable is always long, *e.g.* *ab-lātus*, *ab-rumpō*. In all other combinations of consonants, the first consonant is joined to the preceding vowel, as *al-tus*, *an-gō*, *hos-pes*, *dic-tus*, *minis-trī*, *māg-nus*, *mōn-strum*. This principle obviously demands that *x* should be divided in pronunciation, as was undoubtedly the case. Thus *āxis* must have been pronounced *ac-sis*, *lūxus* as *luc-sus*; so, also, after a long vowel, *vīc-sī* (*vīxī*); *rēc-sī* (*rēxī*).

Rule 4 in § 4 of the *Grammar* may for all scientific purposes be abandoned, since, as already indicated, compounds call for the application of no special principles.

So much for the scientific aspect of the division of words into syllables. It has, nevertheless, been deemed best to make no changes in the traditional rules. For 1) Experience has shown that pupils ordinarily divide their syllables with phonetic correctness without the aid of rules. 2) The rules as given are seldom or perhaps never made a basis for the actual pronunciation of Latin, but serve only as a guide for printers, where a word is broken at the end of a line. As such a guide they furnish convenient working rules, which, though probably wrong, are, nevertheless, of world-wide acceptance and application, and in simplicity are superior to the true ones. It should always be borne in mind, however, that the traditional rules are simply mechanical, and that they probably do not represent the way the Romans spoke.



## CHAPTER III.

### HIDDEN QUANTITY.

36. A hidden quantity is the quantity of a vowel before two consonants. Such a quantity is called hidden, as distinguished from the quantity of a vowel before a single consonant, where the metrical employment of the word at once indicates whether the vowel is long or short. The quantity of a vowel before a mute with *l* or *r* is hidden unless the syllable containing it appear in verse used as short.

The methods of determining hidden quantity are the following :

1. *Express testimony of ancient Roman writers, e.g. Cicero, Orator*, 48. 159, where the principle for the length of vowels before *nf*, *ns* is laid down (see § 37); Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, ii. 17; iv. 17; ix. 6; xii. 3. Nearly every Roman grammarian furnishes some little testimony of this kind, and though some of them belong to a comparatively late period, their evidence often preserves the tradition of earlier usage, and hence is entitled to weight.

2. *The versification of the earlier Roman dramatists, especially Plautus and Terence, with whom a mute before a liquid never lengthens a syllable whose vowel is short.* Hence, before a mute followed by a liquid, the quantity of the vowel always appears in these writers, being the same as the quantity of the syllable, just as in case of a vowel followed by a single consonant.

Furthermore, Plautus and Terence not infrequently employ as short many syllables which in classical poetry would be invariably long by position. Examples are the following: *juvĕntūs*, Plautus, *Mostellaria* 30; *Curculio* 38; *volūntās*, *Trinummus* 1166; *Pseu-*



*dolus* 537; *Stichus* 59; *volūptās*, *Mostellaria* 249, 294; *Amphitruo* 939, and elsewhere. These cases are to be explained by the fact that the vowel was short and the following consonants failed to 'make position.'

In some instances, it must be confessed, even long vowels are used as short, *e.g.* *bonīs mīs*, Plautus, *Trinummus*, 822, *forīs pullābō*, 868. But these cases are of a peculiar sort and may be explained on metrical grounds, or by the iambic nature of the words, as in the examples cited. Cf. § 87. 3.

3. *Inscriptions*.—Since the middle of the first century B.C. the *apex* (or point) appears added to the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* to indicate their length. Long *i* was designated originally by *l* (rising above the other letters and hence called *i longa*) and by *ei*; later, *ī* took the *apex*. Examples are *TRAXI*, CIL. x. 2311; *PRISCVS*, CIL. xi. 1940; *ÓLLA*, CIL. vi. 10006; *QUINQVE*, CIL. vi. 3539; *MILLIA*, Monumentum Ancyranum i. 16; *FECEI*, CIL. i. 551.

Before the employment of the *apex* the length of the vowel in case of *a*, *e*, *u* was indicated by doubling the vowel, *e.g.* *PAASTORES*, CIL. i. 551; *PEQVLATVV*, CIL. i. 202; *o* is never doubled in this manner. This peculiarity belongs to the period 130-70 B.C.

A thoroughly consistent use of these methods of designating the vowel quantities is found, it must be admitted, in but few inscriptions. Of the vowels contained in syllables long by position only a portion are marked, as a rule, in any single inscription. Certain official inscriptions of the late republican and early imperial period form an exception to this, and exhibit very full and reliable markings, *e.g.* the speech of the Emperor Claudius (Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 136) and the Monumentum Ancyranum, containing the *Rēs Gestae Divi Augusti*. This latter, among a great number of correct markings, contains also some false ones, *e.g.* *CLYPEI*, *SVMMÁ*. Such errors also occur occasionally elsewhere.

4. *Greek transcriptions of Latin words*.—This method is most fruitfully applied in case of the vowels *e* and *o*. The employment of Greek *ε* or *η*, *ο* or *ω* makes the quantity of the Latin vowel

certain, wherever faith may be reposed in the accuracy of the transcription. Thus we may write *Ēsquiliæ* in view of Ἡσकुλίος, Strabo, v. 234, 237; *Vērgilius*, after Οὔεργίλιος; *Vesōntiō*, after Οὔεσοντίων. Dio Cassius, lxviii. 24.

The quantity of *i* may also often be determined by Greek transliterations. Thus *ε* before two consonants regularly points to Latin *ī*, e.g. Βεῖψανιος, CIG. 5709, = *Vīpsānius*; Greek *ι* points to Latin *ī*, e.g. Ἰστροπος = *Īster*.

Inscriptions are naturally of much greater weight in such matters than are our texts of the Greek writers. Cf. § 3. c).

5. *The vocalism of the Romance languages.* — These languages, particularly the Spanish and Italian, treated *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* with great regularity according to the natural length of the vowel. It will be remembered that Latin *ē* and *ō* were close; Latin *ě* and *ǒ* open. Now the Romance languages have not preserved the original *quantity* of Latin vowels; for both the long and the short vowels of the Latin have become half-long in Romance; but they have very faithfully preserved their *quality*. Thus Latin *ē* appears as a close *e* in Italian and Spanish; Latin *ě* as an open *e* or as *ie*. Latin *ō* appears as a close *o* in Italian and Spanish; Latin *ǒ* as an open *o* or as *uo* (*ue*). Similarly Latin *ī* remained *i*, but *ĩ* became a close *e*; Latin *ū* remained *u*, but *ũ* became close *o*. Examples: —

LATIN.	ITALIAN.
<i>mēnsis.</i>	<i>mese</i> (with close <i>e</i> ).
<i>honēstus.</i>	<i>onesto</i> (with open <i>e</i> ).
<i>respōnsum.</i>	<i>rispose</i> (with close <i>o</i> ).
<i>dōctus.</i>	<i>dolto</i> (with open <i>o</i> ).
<i>dīxī.</i>	<i>dissi.</i>
<i>dīctus.</i>	<i>detto</i> (with close <i>e</i> ).
<i>dūxī.</i>	<i>-dussi.</i>
<i>dūctus.</i>	<i>-dotto</i> (with close <i>o</i> ).

The Romance languages, however, authorize conclusions only with reference to the popular language as opposed to that of the better educated classes. In the popular speech the tendency was

rather toward the shortening of long vowels than toward the lengthening of short ones. Hence where the Romance languages point to a long vowel in the popular language, it is safe to assume that the vowel was long in the literary language. When, on the other hand, the Romance languages point to a short vowel, this testimony is not necessarily conclusive, particularly if other facts point clearly in the opposite direction.

Again the Romance languages authorize conclusions only in case of words inherited from the Latin. Many Romance words represent mediaeval borrowing by the learned class, as Italian *rigido, cibo, metro, tenebre, pustula, lubrico*. All such words retain the Latin vocalism. In some cases it is difficult to decide whether a word has descended by the popular or the learned channel, *e.g. luxus, urna*.

With all the assistance furnished by the methods above enumerated, there nevertheless remain many words whose vowel quantity cannot be determined. It is customary to regard all such vowels as short until they are proved to be long.

The following are the most important works of reference on this subject :

- MARX, *Hilfsbüchlein für die Aussprache lateinischer Vokale in Positionslangen Silben*. 2d ed. Berlin, 1889. A work valuable for its collection of evidence, but frequently untrustworthy in its conclusions.
- SEELMANN, *Die Aussprache des Latein*. Heilbronn, 1885. p. 69 ff.
- GRÖBER, *Vulgärlateinische Substrata Romanischer Wörter*, a series of articles in Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie*, vols. i-vi.
- KÜRTING, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891.
- LINDSAY, *The Latin Language*. Oxford, 1894. p. 133 ff.
- D'OVIDIO, in *Gröber's Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*. Strassburg, 1888. i. p. 497 ff.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*. Leipzig, 1890.
- CHRISTIANSEN, *De Apicibus et I Longis*. Husum, 1889.
- ECKINGER, *Orthographie Lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften*. Munich.

Further literature up to 1889 is cited by Marx, p. xii.

## GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE DETERMINATION OF HIDDEN QUANTITY.

### VOWELS BEFORE *ns*, *nf*.

**37.** A vowel is always long before *ns* and *nf*, e.g. *cōnsul*, *īnfēlix*. This principle rests upon the following evidence :

a) Cicero, *Orator*, 159, expressly states that in compounds of *con* and *in*, the vowel was pronounced long when followed by *f* or *s*.

b) Before *ns* the vowel is often marked in inscriptions with an *apex*, as CIL. xii. 3102 CĒNSOR; CIL. vi. 1527 d. 64 CŌNSTŌ; CIL. xi. 1118 MĒNSVM; the *apex* occurs less frequently before *nf* e.g. CIL. xi. 1118 CŌNFICIVNT. But *i longa* occurs repeatedly before both *ns* and *nf*, e.g. CIL. iii. 67 INSPEXI; vi. 647 INSTRVXERVNT; CIL. ii. 4510 INFERIORIS; CIL. xiv. 1738 INFANTI; CIL. x. 4294 INFERRI.

c) Greek transliterations of Latin words often indicate a long vowel before *ns*, as Κρῆσκηνς (= *Crēscēns*); Πρῶδηνς (= *Prūdēns*).

### VOWELS BEFORE *gn*, *gm*.

**38.** Vowels are long before *gn* in the suffixes *-gnus*, *-gna*, *-gnum*. In support of this we have the direct testimony of Priscian (Keil, ii. 82. 7), who lays down the above principle and gives as illustrations: *rēgnum*, *stāgnum*, *benīgus*, *malīgus*, *abiēgnus*, *prīvīgus*, *Paelīgus*. Inscriptions also have RĒGNVM (CIL. vi. 7578); SĪGNVM (CIL. vi. 10234); DĪGNI (CIL. x. 5676); PRIVIGNO (CIL. vi. 3541).

This rule is often formulated to include all vowels before *gn* (e.g. by Marx, p. 1); but there is no evidence to support such a principle. In *gignō*, for example, and in such forms as *cognōscō*, *cognātus*, *ignārus*, *ignāvus*, *ignōrō*, *ignōscō*, there is nothing to show that the vowel was long. Marx holds that the vowel in these

latter forms was long as the result of compensatory lengthening, *ignārus* being for *\*in-gnārus*, *cognōscō* for *\*con-gnōscō*. But no such theory of compensatory lengthening is tenable. Moreover, a Greek inscription (CIG. i. 1060) has *κογνίτου* = *cōgnitū*. 'Εγνάτιος also in Greek texts shows another genuine Latin word with a short vowel before *gn*. Cf. also Latin *ambiegnus* (*ambi+agnus*), which indicates that *agnus* had *ǣ* before *gn*; for *ā* is retained in compounds, while *ǣ* regularly becomes *ĕ*. Marx's appeal (p. 1) to the fact that Plautus always uses the syllable before *gn* as long, is of no weight, since we should naturally expect *gn* to 'make position' in Latin just as *γν* regularly does in Greek.

Conservative procedure demands, therefore, that the vowel before *gn* should be recognized as long only in words of the type mentioned by Priscian and in such others as are supported by definite evidence. Some scholars have even been inclined to reject Priscian's testimony altogether. The Romance languages might at first sight seem to warrant this attitude. For we find Latin *dignus*, *signum*, *lignum* appearing in Italian as *degno*, *segno*, *legno* with close *e*. This close *e* regularly points to a short Latin *i* (see § 36. 5). But it is possible that the *ī* of Latin was shortened in the Romance (see § 36. 5); or it may be that the *i* in the Latin words was long but somewhat more open than the ordinary Latin *ī*. In this latter case the close *e* of Italian *degno*, *segno*, *legno* (= open *i*) would be an indication of the fidelity with which the Romance languages have preserved the quality of the Latin vowels. This second view is that of W. Meyer (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxx. p. 337).

39. Before *gm* the vowel is long in *pīgmentum* (see CIL. viii. 1344, PIGMEN[T]), and in *sēgmentum* (assured by the Greek *σηγμέντα*); but there is no evidence to warrant the formulation of a broad rule embracing all vowels before *gm*, as is done by Marx (p. 1). Marx appeals to the analogy of *gn* in support of his contention; but if analogy could prove this, it would

similarly prove that every vowel before *ms* is long, after the analogy of the long vowel before *ns*. Marx's second argument, that the syllable before *gm* is always long in Plautus, is of no more weight than the same argument as urged in behalf of *gn*. It may therefore be seriously questioned whether there is any justification in including *gm* in the list of combinations before which a vowel is regularly long.

#### VOWELS BEFORE *nt*, *nd*.

40. 1. All vowels are regularly short before *nt* and *nd*, e.g. *amandus*, *montis*, *amant*, *monent*.

2. Exceptions :

a) Before *nt* the vowel is long in

α) *quīntus* (from *quīnque*).

β) the following contracted words : *cōntiō* (for *coventiō*), *jēntāculum* (for *\*jējūntāculum*), *jēntātiō* (for *\*jējūntātiō*), *nūntius* (for *\*noventius* ?).

γ) Greek proper names in *-ūs*, Gen. *-ūntis*, e.g. *Selīnūs*, *Selīnūntis* (Greek, Σελινούντος).

δ) Greek proper names in *-ōn*, Gen. *-ōntis*, e.g. *Xenophōn*, *Xenophōntis* (Greek, Ξενοφώντας).

b) Before *nd* the vowel is long in

α) the following contracts and compounds : *prēndō* (for *prehendō*), *nōndum* (*nōn* + *dum*), *vēndō* (*vēnum* *dō*), *nūndinus* (*novem diēs*), *quīndecim* (*quīnque*), *ūndecim* (*ūnus*).

β) some Greek names, e.g. *Charōndās*, *Epamīnōndās* (*-ώνδας*).

3. The evidence for the short vowel before *nt* lies in the fact that, while in the Nominatives of such words as *clēmēns*, *crēsēcēns*, *cliēns*, *fōns*, *gēns*, *parēns*, *pōns*, *praesēns*, the long quantity of the vowel is assured either by the presence of the *apex*, or by a long vowel in Greek transcriptions, in the oblique cases the *apex* is

lacking, and in Greek transcriptions the vowel is short, *e.g.* Κλήμης (*i.e.* Κλήμης), CIA. iii. 1094, but Κλήμεντος, CIG. 3757; Κλήμεντι, CIG. Addenda, 1829 c.; CRÉSCÉNS, CIL. xii. 4030, but CRÉSCÉNTI, CIL. vi. 9059; Κρήσκης, CIG. 6012, c.; but Κρήσκεντι, CIG. Addenda, 1994, f.; Πραΐσης (*i.e.* Πραΐσης), CIA. iii. 1147, but Πραΐσεντι, Πραΐσεντα, CIG. 3175, 3991; VALÉNS, Greek Οὔαλλης, Fröhner, *Inscriptions de Louvre*, 120, but Οὔαλεντι, CIG. Addenda, 5783, c.

Even where a vowel is naturally long, it sometimes becomes shortened before *nt*, *e.g.* in *linteum* from *linum*; *cf.* Greek λέντιον CIG. 8695.

For the vowel before *nd* the evidence is not so full. We find the Greek transcriptions Καλένδαις, Lydus, *de Mens.* iv. 53, 57; Φονδάνιος (*i.e.* *Fundānius*), *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, ix. p. 439; also Τούενδος, *i.e.* *tuendus*, CIG. 5600.

#### PONTEM, FONTEM, MONTEM, FRONTEM, FRONDEM.

41. A difference of opinion exists as to the quantity of the vowel before *nt* in the oblique cases of *fōns*, *mōns*, *pōns*, *frōns* (*frontis*); and before *nd* in *frōns* (*frondis*). Three sets of facts are to be considered:

a) The analogy of other words in *-ns* (Gen. *-ntis*). Such words, so far as they are genuine Latin words, have, without exception, a short vowel before *nt* in the oblique cases. See § 40.

b) The testimony of the Romance languages. This is as follows for the different words under discussion:

**fōns.** The Romance languages seem to point to an antecedent *fōntis*, *fōnti*, *etc.* Thus the Italian *fonte* has close *o*; so the Provençal *fon*. Spanish alone with its *fuelle* points to *fōntem* (Gröber, *Archiv*, ii. p. 426; Körting, *Lat.-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, col. 337).

**frōns (-ndis).** The Romance languages all agree in pointing to *frōndem* (Gröber, *Archiv*, ii. p. 426; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 345).



**frōns** (-ntis). Provençal *fron* and Italian *fronte*, with close *o*, point to *frōntem*. So the other Romance languages, except Spanish, which has *fruenta*, pointing to *frōntem*. (Gröber, *Archiv*, ii. p. 426; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 345)..

**mōns**. The Romance languages point unanimously to *mōntem* (Gröber, *Archiv*, ii. p. 426; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 499).

**pōns**. Provençal *pon* and Italian *ponte* with close *o* point to *pōntem*; so the other Romance languages, except Spanish, which has *puente*, pointing to *pōntem*.

If mere numerical preponderance were decisive, we might at once conclude that all these words went back to Latin forms with *ō* in the oblique cases, and might explain Spanish *fuente*, *frente*, *puente* (which should be *fronte*, *fonte*, *ponte*, to represent Latin *ō*) as exceptions to the prevailing law of development. A glance at certain facts, however, in Italian and Provençal, suggests another conclusion. We find it to be a regular law in these languages that an original open Latin *o* (i.e. short *o*, see § 36. 5), when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* + another consonant, becomes close. Thus Latin *tōndet* with open *o*, becomes Italian *tonde* with close *o*. Similarly *respōndet* becomes *risponde*; *rhōmbus* becomes *rombo*; *pōl(y)pus* becomes *polpo*, all with close *o*. Just what has brought about this change is not certain. D'Ovidio in Gröber's *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, i. p. 522, thinks it was the analogy of words in *on* + consonant, *om* + consonant; and *ol* + consonant in which close *o* had developed regularly from an earlier *ū* (see § 36. 5), e.g. *rompe* (= *rumpit*); *onda* (= *unda*); *dolce* (= *dulcis*). In accordance with this principle, whose operation is certain, Latin *fōntem*, *frōndem*, *frōntem*, *mōntem*, *pōntem*, would (assuming these to be the original forms) regularly become in Italian: *fonte*, *fronde*, *fronte*, *monte*, *ponte*, with close *o*, exactly as we find them. The admission of a long *o* in the oblique cases of these Latin words is, therefore, not necessary in order to account for Italian and Provençal close *o* in their Romance descendants. In fact, when we consider Spanish *fiente*, *fuente*, *puente*, all of which point to



Latin *ō*, it seems more reasonable to regard Spanish *monte* and *fronde* (which point to *ō*) as the exceptions. Gröber, who (*Archiv*, vi. p. 389) expresses himself in favor of assuming an original *fōntem*, etc., in these words, suggests that Spanish *monte*, *fronde*, are loan-words, while *fuelle*, *fruelle*, *puente* represent an original inheritance.

Briefly, then, a fair interpretation of the evidence of the Romance languages seems to warrant the belief that the oblique cases of the words under discussion came into the Romance languages from the Latin with a (short) open *o*; that in Italian and Provençal this open *o* subsequently became close in accordance with a regular law of wide operation. Spanish regularly developed the open *o* to *ue* in those words which it inherited from Latin (*viz.* in *fuelle*, *fruelle*, *puente*); while Spanish *monte* and *fronde* are probably loan-words from Italian.

c) The third bit of evidence comes from Greek transliterations of Latin words as found in Greek inscriptions and Greek authors. Thus we find Φοντίος (= *Fōntēius*) in Plutarch and Appian; also in an inscription, CIG. iii. 5837, b (59 A.D.); Φροντίος, CIA. iii. 1154 (between 150 and 200 A.D.); Φροντέιος, CIA. iii. 1177 (about 220 A.D.); Φρόντων, CIA. iii. 1113, 21, 26 (before 161 A.D.), and in texts; all of which point to Latin *Frōntō*, and *Frōntinus*, and indirectly to *frōnt-em*. Latin *Montānus* appears as Μοντανός, CIG. Addenda, 4805 b; and we find τριμόντιον, Ptol. iii. 11, 12, *et passim*; πόντεμ (= Latin *pōntem*) is the text in Plutarch, *Numa*, 9; ποντίφιξ (= *pōntifex*), in Dionysius, Dio Cassius, and Zosimus; ποντίφεξ, in Lydus, *de Mens.* iii. 21; ποντίφικες, in Plutarch, *Numa*, 9; and ποντίφικα, in an inscription in Kaibel's *Sylloge Epigrammatum*, Addenda, 888 a. The Greek never shows an *ω* in any of these words, either in inscriptions or in Mss. The evidence furnished by that language therefore is unanimous in favor of *ō* for the Latin. Nor can recognition be refused the inscriptions above cited on the ground that they are late. As the annexed dates show, they all belong to the good period of the language.

We thus have the strongest possible grounds for writing *fōntis*, *frōndis*, etc. The analogy of other words in *-ns* (Gen. *-ntis*) favors this view; the Romance languages favor it, and the testimony of Latin words in Greek dress, as exhibited both in texts and in inscriptions, favors it. In fact the evidence is complete.

The isolated apex in FRŌNT (for FRŌNTEM, as the context shows), CIL. v. 2915, is certainly a mere blunder of the stone-cutter, as is often the case in other words, even in carefully cut inscriptions (see § 36. 3). Christiansen, *De Apicibus et I Longis*, p. 57, cites thirteen such instances for vowels before *nt*.

#### HIDDEN QUANTITY IN DECLENSION.

42. 1. It is maintained by some scholars (*e.g.* Marx, *Hilfsbüchlein*, p. 2; Lane, *Harvard Studies*, i. p. 89) that the ending *-um* in the Genitive Plural of nouns of the First and Second Declensions has *ū* in such forms as *Aeneadum*, *deum*, *nummum*; also in *nostrum* and *vestrum*. The facts in evidence are the following:

a) On early Latin coins prior to the First Punic War, we find the final *m* of many Genitives Plural omitted, *e.g.* ROMANO, CORANO. Coins of the same date regularly retain final *m* of the Nominative or Accusative Singular, *e.g.* VOLCANOM, PROPOM (= *probum*). This has led Mommsen (CIL. i. p. 9) to infer that there was a difference in the quantity of the *o* in the two instances. As the *o* of the Nominative and Accusative Singular was short, Mommsen thought that in the Genitive Plural it must be long. But the material with which Mommsen deals is extremely scanty. Genitive Plural forms occur in some number; but only a few Nominative and Accusative forms are found, *viz.* VOLCANOM, PROPOM. Again, ROMANOM (CIL. i. 1) and AESERNINOM (i. 20) show that Genitives sometimes retained the *m*. Mommsen attempts to solve this difficulty by taking ROMANOM and AESERNINOM as the Nominative Singular Neuter of the Adjective, but that is awkward. The natural inference must be that

there was no system in the omission of final *m* on these coins. The coins represent no dialect; in fact they represent widely separated localities; hence it is no wonder if the final *m* (always weak) was sometimes written, sometimes omitted. In the Scipio inscriptions, the oldest of which may date within a quarter of a century of these coins, we find final *m* freely omitted in the Accusative and Nominative Singular just as elsewhere. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that Mommsen's hypothesis concerning the coins is correct.

b) An inscription of Nuceria (CIL. x. 1081) has DVVMVIRATVS, which Schmitz (*Rheinisches Museum*, x. 110) and Lane (*Harvard Studies*, i. p. 89) regard as evidence that the *u* of *duum* (Gen. Pl. of *duo*) was long. But even conceding the correctness of the *apex* in this isolated instance, it remains to be shown that the *duum-* of *duumvir* and *duumviratus* is in origin a Genitive. Such an etymology would involve the assumption that the *duum-* of the Genitive Plural, *duumvirum*, became transferred to the other cases, replacing *duo* in earlier *duovir*, etc. Such an assumption is extremely improbable. It is much more likely that *duumvir* and *triumvir* are formed after the analogy of *centumvir*. In the singular especially such forms as *duovir*, *trēsuir* would have been extremely awkward, and it seems probable that the singular *duumvir*, *triumvir* were for that reason historically anterior to *duumvirī*, *triumvirī*. The *apex* in the Nucerian inscription, if this etymology be correct, would then be simply a blunder of the engraver, as is altogether probable. The evidence in favor of *-ūm* in these Genitives must, therefore, be regarded as of no weight, especially in view of the regular shortening of vowels before final *-m* in Latin. Certainly if *-ūm* did by any possibility exist in the days of Augustus, the *u* had become shortened by 90 A.D. For Quintilian (i. 6. 18), as noted by Lane (p. 90), shows that to his ear *nummum*, Genitive Plural, was nowise different from *nummum*, Accusative Singular.

2. Words in *-er* of the Second Declension, and words of

the Third Declension in *-er* and *-x*, have in oblique cases the same quantity of the vowel as in the Nominative, *e.g.* *āger*, *āgrī*; *frāter*, *frātris*; *ācer*, *ācris*; *pāx*, *pācis*; *tenāx*, *tenācis*; *fāx*, *fācis*; *rēx*, *rēgis*; *nāx*, *nāvis*; *cornāx*, *cornācis*; *calīx*, *calīcis*; *fel*, *fellis*; *ōs*, *ōssis*; *plēbs*, *plēbis*. Thus sometimes the Nominative gives the clue to the hidden quantity in the oblique cases (as *āger*, *āgrī*); sometimes the oblique cases give the clue to the hidden quantity of the Nominative (as *cornācis*, *cornāx*).

3. Words of the Third Declension ending in *-ns* (Gen. *-ntis*) uniformly have a short vowel in the oblique cases, as already explained in § 40. 3. Greek words in *-ās* (Gen. *-antis*), *e.g.* *Aīās*, *Aiantis*; *gīgās*, *gigantis*, have the same quantity as in the original (*Aīās*, *Aīāvros*; *γίγās*, *γίγāvros*). So, also, contracted Greek names of cities in *-ōūs*, *-ōūvros*, *e.g.* *Selīnūs*, *Selīnūntis*; and proper names in *-ōv*, *-ōvros*, *e.g.* *Xenophōn*, *Xenophōntis*. *Acheron* (not a contract form) has *Acherūntis*.

4. In all words of the Third Declension ending in two or more consonants (excepting *-ns* and *-x* preceded by a vowel), the hidden vowel before the ending is short, *e.g.* *ūrbs*, *sōrs*, *ārx*. Exceptions to this principle are *plēbs* and compounds of *ūncia* ending in *-ūnx*, *e.g.* *deūnx*, *deūncis*; *quīncūnx*, *quīncūncis*. Before *-x* the vowel is sometimes long, sometimes short.

#### COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

43. In the terminations *-issimus*, *-errimus*, *-illimus* the hidden vowel is short, *e.g.* *carīssimus*, *acērrimus*, *facīllimus*. Apparent traces of a long *i* in the termination *-issimus* are found in inscriptional forms with *i longa*. The word of most frequent occurrence is *PISSIMUS*; besides this we find a few other words, *e.g.* *CARISSIMO*, CIL. vi. 5325; *DVLCISSIMO*, vi. 16926; *FORTISSIMO*, vi. 1132. But many of these inscriptions belong to the last centuries of the Empire, when the use of *i longa* had become an extremely untrustworthy guide, as may be seen by palpable errors. As regards the frequent occurrence of *PISSIMAE*, *PISSIMO*, these may

perhaps be explained on the theory that *i longa* was here used to indicate not merely *i*, but also the *j* which developed in pronunciation between the two *i*'s, i.e. *pijissimo*. Cf. the similar use of *i longa* in words like POMPEIIVS, CIL. ix. 3748. At all events, in the absence of the *apex* in these superlatives, and in view of the absolute silence of the grammarians, it seems unwise to attach great weight to the occurrence of the *i longa* alone. Against *ī* Lindsay (*Latin Language*, p. 405) urges the occurrence of late spellings like MERENTESSEMO, KARESSEMO, CIL. ii. 2997.

## NUMERALS.

44. As separate words are to be noted

a) *quāttuor*, but *quārtus* (see § 53 under *arca*).

b) *quīnque* and its derivatives, all of which have *ī*, as *quīndecim*, *quīntus*, *quīngentī*, *quīnquāgintā*.

c) the derivatives of *ūnus*, *ūndecim*, *ūndēvīgintī*, etc.

d) *mille*, *mīllia*, and *mīllēsīmus*.

## PRONOUNS.

45. 1. *Nōs*, *vōs*; but *nōster*, *vōster*; *nostrī*, *vestrī*, etc.

2. *Hunc* and *hanc* have a short vowel, as shown by the fact that they are sometimes used as short in verse, e.g. Plautus, *Miles Gloriōsus*, 1008.

3. *Ille*, *ipse*, *iste* have *ī*.

4. The suffix *-cunque* has *ū*.

5. Compounds retain the quantity of the elements of which they are compounded, as *quīsquis*, *cūjūisque*.

## CONJUGATION.

## ROOT FORMS.

46. 1. Presents formed by means of the infix *n* have a short vowel, e.g. *fūndō* (root *fud-*); *frāngō* (root *frag-*); *jūngō* (root *jug-*). Before a labial *n* becomes *m*, e.g. *rumpō* (root *rup-*);

*lambō* (root *lab-*). Care should be taken not to confuse derivative and contract Presents like *vēndō*, *prēndō*, with genuine nasal formations.

2. In most Presents the hidden vowel is short, e.g. *nectō*, *serpō*, *vertō*. But the following exceptions are to be noted :

a) First Conjugation : *jūrgō* (for *jūrigō*), *nārrō*, *ōrnō*, *pūrgō*, *trāctō*.

b) Second Conjugation : *ardeō*.

c) Third Conjugation : *compēscō* and all Inchoatives (see § 49).

d) Fourth Conjugation : *nūtriō*, *ōrdior*.

3. The quantity of the vowel in the Present regularly remains unchanged throughout the entire conjugation of the verb, e.g. :

<i>ardeō</i>	<i>ardēre</i>	<i>ārsi</i>	<i>ārsūrus</i>
<i>gerō</i>	<i>gerere</i>	<i>gessi</i>	<i>gestus</i>
<i>scribō</i>	<i>scribere</i>	<i>scripsi</i>	<i>scriptus</i>
<i>vivō</i>	<i>vivere</i>	<i>vixi</i>	<i>victurus</i>
<i>figō</i>	<i>figere</i>	<i>fixi</i>	<i>fixus</i>

Thus inscriptions give *FIXA*, *SCRIPTVM*, *CONSCREIPTVM*, *VIKIT*, *VEIXIT*.

But the following exceptions to this general principle are to be noted :

a)	<i>dīcō</i>	<i>dīcere</i>	<i>dīxi</i>	<i>dīctus</i>
	<i>dūcō</i>	<i>dūcere</i>	<i>dūxi</i>	<i>dūctus</i>
	<i>cēdō</i>	<i>cēdere</i>	<i>cēssi</i>	<i>cēssurus</i>

The short vowel of the Perfect Participles *dīctus* and *dūctus* is assured by the statement of Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, ix. 6) and by the testimony of the Romance languages. (See § 52. *s.vv.*)

b) The short vowel of the Present is lengthened in the Perfect Indicative and Perfect Participle, if hidden, in the following verbs :

<i>agō</i>	<i>agere</i>	<i>ēgi</i>	<i>āctus</i>
<i>cīngō</i>	<i>cīngere</i>	<i>cīnxi</i>	<i>cīnctus</i>
<i>dēlinquō</i>	<i>dēlinquere</i>	<i>dēliqui</i>	<i>dēlictus</i>

<i>distinguō</i>	<i>distinguere</i>	<i>distīnxi</i>	<i>distīnctus</i>
<i>emō</i>	<i>emere</i>	<i>ēmī</i>	<i>ēemptus</i>
<i>exstinguō</i>	<i>exstinguere</i>	<i>exstīnxi</i>	<i>exstīnctus</i>
<i>fungō</i>	<i>fungere</i>	<i>fīnxi</i>	<i>fīctus</i>
<i>frangō</i>	<i>frangere</i>	<i>frēgī</i>	<i>frāctus</i>
<i>fungor</i>	<i>fungi</i>	<i>fūnctus sum</i>	—
<i>jungō</i>	<i>jungere</i>	<i>jūnxi</i>	<i>jūnctus</i>
<i>legō</i>	<i>legere</i>	<i>lēgī</i>	<i>lēctus</i>
<i>pangō</i>	<i>pangere</i>	<i>pēpigī</i>	<i>pāctus</i>
<i>pingō</i>	<i>pingere</i>	<i>pīnxi</i>	<i>pīctus</i>
<i>pungō</i>	<i>pungere</i>	<i>pūpugī</i>	<i>pūnctus</i>
<i>regō</i>	<i>regere</i>	<i>rēxi</i>	<i>rēctus</i>
<i>relinquō</i>	<i>relinquere</i>	<i>reliquī</i>	<i>relictus</i>
<i>sanciō</i>	<i>sancire</i>	<i>sānxi</i> (?)	<i>sānctus</i>
<i>struō</i>	<i>struere</i>	<i>strūxi</i>	<i>strūctus</i>
<i>tangō</i>	<i>tangere</i>	<i>tetigī</i>	<i>tāctus</i>
<i>tegō</i>	<i>tegere</i>	<i>tēxi</i>	<i>tēctus</i>
<i>tinguō</i>	<i>tinguere</i>	<i>tīnxi</i>	<i>tīnctus</i>
<i>trahō</i>	<i>trahere</i>	<i>trāxi</i>	<i>trāctus</i>
<i>ungō</i>	<i>ungere</i>	<i>ūnxi</i>	<i>ūnctus</i>

So also in compounds and derivatives of these verbs.

4. The evidence for the long vowel in the Perfect Participles of the foregoing list is found :

a) In the statements of Gellius, who testifies (*Noctes Atticae*, ix. 6) to the quantity of the vowels of *āctus*, *lēctus*, *ūnctus*, and in xii. 3. 4 to that of *strūctus*.

b) In the testimony of inscriptions, which show the following : *ĀCTIS* CIL. vi. 1377 ; *REDĀCTA* vi. 701 ; *EXĀCTVS* Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 136 ; *CINCTVS* CIL. x. 4104 ; *DĒFVNCTIS* CIL. v. 1326 ; *DILĒCTVS* vi. 6319 ; *LĒCTVS* xi. 1826 ; *EXSTINCTOS* vi. 25617 ; *INFRĀCTĀ* ix. 60 ; *IVNCTA* x. 1888 ; *SEIVNCTVM* vi. 1527 *e.* 38 ; *RĒCTE* xii. 2494 ; *TĒCTOR* vi. 5205 ; *COEMTO Monumentum Ancyranum* iii. 11 ; *TRĀ[CTA* (not certain) CIL. vi. 1527 *e.* 14 ; *SĀNCTA* v. 2681 ; Oscan *SAA(N)HTOM* (= *sānctom*).

c) In the retention of *a* in compounds of *actus*, *tactus*, *fractus*, *pactus*, *tractus* (*e.g.* *coactus*, *attactus*, *refractus*, *etc.*), which shows



that the *a* was long; short *a* would have become *e* in this situation, as for example in *cōnfectus* for an original \**cōnfāctus*; *acceptus* for an original \**accāptus*; *creptus* for \**ērāptus*.

d) For *cīnctus*, *delīctus*, *distīnctus*, *extīnctus*, *fīctus*, *pīctus*, *pūnctus*, *relictus*, *fīnctus*, the long vowel is assured by the evidence of the Romance, e.g. Italian *cinto*, *delitto*, *fitto*, *relitto*, *tinto*.

5. The evidence for the quantity of the vowel in the Perfects of the foregoing list is found:

a) In inscriptional markings, as CONIVNXIT (Wilmanns, *Inscript. Latinae* 104); TEXIT (CIL. x. 1793); REXIT (CIL. v. 875); TRAXI (CIL. x. 2311, 18).

b) In Priscian's statement (Keil, ii. 466) that *rexi* and *texi* have *ē*.

c) In the testimony of the Romance languages which point to *cīnxī*, *distīnxī*, *extīnxī*, *fīnxī*, *pīnxī*, *strūxī*, *tīnxī*, *ūnxī*.

d) The long *ā* in *sānxī* rests upon no specific evidence, but may perhaps be safely inferred after the analogy of *sānctus*.

Until recently the principle was maintained (e.g. by Marx in his first edition) that all monosyllabic stems ending in *b*, *d*, or *g*, had the hidden vowel long in the Perfect Indicative and Perfect Participle wherever euphonic changes occurred. According to this theory we should have e.g. *scindō*, *scindere*, *scidī*, *scīssus*; *mērgo*, *mērgere*, *mērsī*, *mērsus*. This principle was first laid down by Lachmann (on Lucretius i. 805) for Perfect Participles alone, and was subsequently assumed by other scholars to apply to the Perfect Indicative as well; but this position is now entirely abandoned. Each long vowel must be supported by specific evidence.

#### VERBAL ENDINGS.

47. 1. The hidden vowel is short before *ss* and *st* in the terminations of inflected forms, e.g. *fuīsssem*, *amāvīsse*; *fuīstī*, *fuīstīs*. This is shown not only by the historical origin of these formations, but by such metrical usage as Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 761, *dedīsse*; *Menacchmi*, 687, *dedīstī*, where *iss* and *ist* are treated as short



syllables by neglect of 'position' (see § 36. 2). Contracted forms are, of course, an exception to the above principle, as *amāsse*, *commōssem*, *redīsse*, *audīset*, *amāsti*, *nōstis*.

2. Formations of the type : *dixtī*, *accēstis*, *jūstī*, *trāxe*, *surrēxe*, *extīnxem* have the same quantity as the regular forms.

## COMPOUNDS.

48. Marx (p. 8) holds that the vowel of a monosyllabic preposition, if hidden, is long in composition when the preposition loses a final consonant. Thus he maintains a long vowel for the initial syllable of *ascendō* (for \**ad-scandō*); *di-stinguō* (\**dis-stinguō*); *suspiciō* (for \**sub-spiciō*). But this principle rests upon an untenable theory of compensatory lengthening; see § 89.

## INCHOATIVES.

49. Inchoatives in *-scō*, *-scor* have a long vowel before *-sc*, e.g. *labāscō*, *flōrēscō*, *nitēscō*, *tremīscō*, *adīpīscor*. Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, vi. 15) mentions a number of words of this class as having a long vowel, and implies that this was generally true of all. The Romance languages show that *-escō* and *-iscō* (*-iscor*) had *ē* and *ī*.

## IRREGULAR VERBS.

50. 1. The root vowel of *esse* is short under all circumstances, e.g. *ēst*, *ēstis*, *ēstō*, *ēssem*.

2. *Edō*, 'eat,' has a long *e* in the forms *ēs*, *ēst*, *ēstis*, *ēssem*, *ēsse*, *ēstur*, *ēssetur*. Cf. Donatus on Terence, *Andria*, i. 1. 54; Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid*, v. 785.

3. Marx (p. 9) lays down the principle that in compounds of *eō*, forms containing *ii* have the second *i* long before *st*, as e.g. in *interiīstī*. This theory rests solely upon the occurrence of *INTERIESTI* in CIL. i. 1202. But *EI* occurs elsewhere in inscriptions, incorrectly written for *ī*, e.g. *PARENTEIS* (= *parentīs*), CIL. i. 1009; *FACEIVNDAE* (= *faciūndae*). It is altogether probable that *INTERIESTI* is another instance of the same sort.

## WORD FORMATION.

51. 1. Substantives in *-abrum*, *-acrum*, *-atrum*, derived from verbs, have *ā*, e.g. *flābrum*, *lavācrum*, *arātrum*.

2. The derivative endings *-ellus* (*a, um*), *-illus* (*a, um*), regularly have *ĕ* and *ĭ*, but the following have a long vowel, viz.: *catēlla*, 'little chain,' *anguīlla*, *Bovīllae*, *hīllae*, *ovīllus*, *stīlla*, *suīllus*, *vīlla*.

3. The vowel is short in *-ernus* (*-ernius*, *-ernūnus*), *-urnus* (*-urnius*, *-urnūnus*), e.g. *hibērnus*, *tabērna*, *Satūrnus*. In *vērnus* (from *vēr*) the *r* is not a part of the suffix.

4. The vowel is short in the endings *-estus* (*-ester*, *-estris*, *-esticus*, *-estās*), *-ister* (*-istrum*), *-ustus*, e.g. *caelēstis*, *domēsticus*, *tempēstās*, *capīstrum*, *venūstus*. In *sēmēstris*, *jūstus*, the long vowel belongs to the stem.

5. The vowel is short in the endings *-unculus*, *-unciō*, *-erculus*, *-usculus*, e.g. *ратиuncula*, *paterculus*, *mājusculus*, *homunciō*; *plūsculus* (from *plūs*) naturally has *ū*.

6. In compounds, the connecting vowel *i* is short, e.g. *nāvī-fragus*, *lectīsternium*.

LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORDS CONTAINING A LONG  
VOWEL BEFORE TWO CONSONANTS.<sup>1</sup>

52.	A.	<i>Alcēstis</i> : Gr. Ἀλκηστis.
		<i>Ālēctō</i> : Gr. Ἀληκτώ.
<i>abiēgnus</i> : see § 38.		<i>aliōrsūm</i> : for * <i>alio-vorsum</i> .
<i>acatūlēctus</i> : Gr. ἀκατάληκτος.		<i>alēptēs</i> : Gr. ἀλεπτής.
<i>āctūtum</i> : like <i>āctus</i> .		<i>Amāzōn</i> : Gr. Ἀμαζών.
<i>agō</i> , <i>agere</i> , <i>ēgī</i> , <i>āctus</i> : see § 46. 3. b).		<i>ambūstus</i> : see <i>ūrō</i> .

<sup>1</sup> The following classes of words are omitted from this list:

- a) Most derivatives and compounds.
- b) All words containing *us* or *nf*.
- c) Inchoatives in *-āscō*, *-ēscō*, *-īscō*.
- a) Some rare Greek loan-words and proper names.
- e) Nouns and adjectives in *-x*, whose Genitive (acc. to § 42. 2) shows the preceding vowel to be long.

*anguilla* : *ī* acc. to the Romance.

*ap̄rūgnus* : see § 38.

*Aquillius* : AQVILLIVS : CIL. vi. 12264.

*arātrum* : see § 51. 1.

*ardeō* : like *aridus*.

*āthla* : Gr. ἀθλον.

*āthlētes* : Gr. ἀθλητής.

*ātramentum* : like *āter*.

*ātrium* : from *āter* ; also ĀTRIVM, CIL. vi. 10025.

*āxilla* : Priscian, iii. 36.

## B.

*bārdus*, 'stupid' : from *bārō*.

*Bēdriacum* : Βητριάκον, Plutarch, *Otho*, 8, 11.

*Bellerophōn*, -ōntis : Gr. -ῶν, -ῶντος.

*benignus* : see § 38 ; so also the Romance.

*bēstia*, *Bēstia* : Βηστίας ; Plutarch, *Marius*, 9 ; *Cicero*, 3 ; the Romance would point to *ē*.

*bimēstris* : from *mēnsis*.

*bovillus* : from *bovinus*.

*būbrēstis* : Gr. βούβρηστις.

*būrrus* : *ū* acc. to the Romance.

*būstum* : *ū* acc. to the Romance ; cf. *combūstus* and *ūstus*.

## C.

*catalēctus* : Gr. κατάληκτος.

*catēlla* : from *catēna* ; *catella*, 'bitch,' has *ē*.

*catillus* : from *catinus*.

*cētra* : better orthography is *caetra* ; see § 61.

*chirūrgus* : Gr. χειρουργός.

*cicātrix* : *ā* in Plautus, *Amphitruo* 446 ; see § 36. 2.

*ciccus*, -um : *ī* acc. to the Romance.

*Cincius* : CINCIA, CIL. vi. 14817 et *passim*.

*cingō*, *cingere*, *cīnxī*, *cīnctus* : *ī* in the Perfect and Perfect Participle acc. to the Romance ; see Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 196) ; d'Ovidio (*Gröber's Grundriss*, p. i. 501 f.) ; CINCTVS, CIL. x. 4104 ; see § 53. s. v.

*clātra*, *clātri* : Gr. κληῖτρα.

*Clytemēstra* : Gr. Κλυταιμῆστρα.

*Cnōssus* : Gr. Κνωσσός.

*cōgo*, *cōgere*, *cōgēi*, *cōactus* : see *agō*.

*combūrō*, *combūrere*, *combussī*, *combūstus* : see *ūrō* and *būstum*.

*cōmō*, *cōmere*, *cōmpsī*, *cōmptus* : *ō* acc. to the Romance.

*compīngō*, *compīngere*, *compēgēi*, *compāctus* : see § 46. 3. b).

*conjūnx* : CONIŪNX, CIL. vi. 6592 et *passim* ; but *conjux* has *ū*.

*contīngō*, -ere, *contīgēi*, *contāctus* : like *tangō*.

*cōntiō* : for *co-ventiō* ; § 40. 2. a).

*corōlla* : from *corōna*.

*crābrō* : *ā* in Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 707 ; see § 36. 2.

*crāstinus* : from *crās*.

*crēscō* : CRÉSCENS, CIL. xii. 4030 et *passim* ; Gr. Κρήσκηνς ; also acc. to the Romance.

*crībrum* : *ī* in Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 55 ; see § 36. 2.

*crīspus* : CREISPINVS, CIL. x. 3514. Κρεισπείνον, CIG. Addenda, 4342, d. 4. The Romance would point to *ī* ; but see § 36. 5 fin.

*crūsta*, *crūstum* : *ŷ* in CIL. i. 1199 ; the Romance points both to *crūs-tum* and also to a collateral form with *ū*. Gröber (*Archiv*, vi. 384) ; Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 232).

*Clēsiophōn*, -ōntis : Gr. -ῶν, -ῶντος.

*cucūllus*, 'hood' : the Romance points to two forms, — one with *ū*, another with *ū* ; see Gröber (*Archiv*,

i. 555; vi. 384); Körtling (*Wörterbuch*, col. 233); *cucullus*, 'cuckoo,' has *ū*.

*cūnctus*: CYNCTI, CIL. ix. 60.

*cūstōs*: Κουστῶδης, Lydus, *de Magistratibus*, i. 46; *ū* acc. to the Romance.

*Cyclōps*: Gr. Κύκλωψ.

## D.

*dēligō*, -ere, *dēlēgī*, *dēlectus*: like *legō*.

*dēlinquō*, -ere, *dēlīquī*, *dēlictus*: *ī* acc. to the Romance.

*dēlūbrum*: *ū* in Plautus, *Poenulus*, 1175; see § 36. 2.

*dēmō*, *dēmere*, *dēmptī*, *dēmptus*: like *emō*.

*dēūnx*: from *dē* and *ūncia*.

*dēxtāns*: from *dē* + *sextāns*.

*dīcō*, *dicere*, *dīxī*, *dictus*: see § 46.

3. a). Certain of the Romance languages (Fr. *dit*; Old Ital. *ditto*, etc.) point to a collateral *dīctus*, which Osthoff (*Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv. 74) thinks belonged to the colloquial language. But possibly those Romance languages which point to *ī* have simply adapted the Participle to the vowel of the Present and the Perfect. See Gröber (*Archiv*, vi. 385).

*dictērīum*: Gr. δεικτήριον.

*Diēspiter*: *diēs* and *pater*.

*dīgladior*: for *dis* + *gladior* by compensatory lengthening; see § 89.

*dīgnus*: see § 38 fin.

*dīgredior*: for *dis* + *gradior* by compensatory lengthening; see § 89.

*dilēmma*: Gr. διλήμμα.

*diligō*, -ere, *dilēxī*, *dilēctus*: like *legō*.

*dirigō*, -ere, *dirēxī*, *dirēctus*: like *regō*.

*dirimō*, -ere, *dirēmī*, *dirēmptus*: like *emō*.

*distinguō*, -ere, *distīnxī*, *distīnctus*: *ī* acc. to the Romance; see d'Ovidio (*Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 502); Körtling (*Wörterbuch*, col. 304); cf. *exstinguō*; see 46. 3. b.

*dolābra*: cf. § 51. 1.

*dūcō*, *dūcere*, *dūxī*, *dūctus*: see § 46. 3. a); PERDŪXIT, CIL. xii. 2346 et *passim*.

## E.

*ēbrius*: *ē* regularly in Plautus, e.g. *Trinummus*, 812; see § 36. 2.

*eclīpsis*: Gr. ἔκλειψις.

*effringō*, -ere, *effrēgī*, *effractus*: like *frangō*.

*emō*, *emere*, *ēmī*, *ēmtus*: see § 46. 3. b).

*ēmungō*, -ere, —, *ēmūnctus*: *ū* acc. to the Romance; see d'Ovidio (*Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 515).

*ērigō*, -ere, *ērēxī*, *ērēctus*: like *regō*.

*ēscā*: *ē* acc. to the Romance.

*Ēsquiliae*, *Ēsquiliñus*: Gr. Ἑσκυλῖνος, in Strabo, v. 234, 237.

*Etrūscus*: cf. *Etrūria*; Gr. Ἑτρούσκος.

*existimō*: from *ex* and *aestimō*; EXISTIMAVERVNT, CIL. v. 5050.

*exōrdium*: from *ōrdior*.

*exstinguō*, -ere, *exstīnxī*, *exstīnctus*: EXTINCTOS, CIL. vi. 25617; cf. *distinguō*; see 46. 3. b.

*extraordinārius*: from *ōrdō*.

## F.

*favilla*: FAVILLA, CIL. v. 3143. The Romance also seems to point to *ī*.

*fellō*: from same root as *fēmina*; Gr. θῆλυς.

*festivus*: from *festus*.

*festus*: from the same root as *fēriae* (= \*fēs-iae), 'holiday'; FĒSTVS in CIL. i., *Fasti Praenestini* for April 25th. So also in the proper name:

*Festus* : FĒSTVS, CIL. xii. 3179; FĒSTI, v. 2627; FĒSTAE, iii. 5353; Gr. Φῆστος, CIA. iii. 635 and frequently. The Romance points to ē, indicating that ē of the classical period ultimately became reduced; see § 36. 5.

*figō, figere, fixī, fixus* : FIXA, Monumentum Ancyranum, vi. 18; ī acc. to the Romance.

*figō, figere, fixī, fictus* : ī acc. to the Romance; see § 53 s. v.

*firmus* : FIRMVM, CIL. iv. 175 et passim; the Romance points to ī, showing that ī of the classical period had become reduced; see § 36. 5.

*flābrum* : see § 51. 1.

*fligō, -ere, -fixī, -fictus* : AFLEICTA, CIL. i. 1175; the Romance also points to ī.

*flōsculus* : from flōs.

*fōrma* : see Donatus on Terence, Phormio, 28; φόρμη in Greek inscriptions; Romance also shows ō.

*fōrmula* : from fōrma.

*frangō, -ere, frēgī, frāctus* : see § 46. 3. b).

*frīgo, -ere, —, frīctus* : ī acc. to the Romance.

*frūctus* : ū acc. to the Romance. Old French *froit* points to a collateral *frūctus*; see Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 523.

*fruor, fruī, frūctus sum* : ū acc. to the Romance.

*frustrā* : FRVSTRĀ, CIL. vi. 20370.

*frustum* : ū acc. to the Romance.

*fungor, fungī, fūctus sum* : DEFUNCTIS, CIL. v. 1326; FVNCTO, xii. 3176 et passim.

*fūrtim* : from fūr.

*fūrtivus* : from fūr.

*fūrtum* : from fūr.

*fūstis* : ū acc. to the Romance.

## G.

*geōgraphia* : Gr. γεωγραφία.

*Georgius* : Gr. Γεώργιος.

*geōrgicus* : Gr. γεωργικός.

*gliscō* : § 49.

*glōssārium* : from Gr. γλῶσσα.

*glōssēma* : from Gr. γλωσσῆμα.

*grŷllus* : ŷ acc. to the Romance.

*grŷps* : like Gen. grŷpis; § 42. 2.

## H.

*hātenus* : like hāc.

*Hellēspontus* : Gr. Ἑλλήσποντος.

*Herculānum* : HĒRCVLĀNIAE, CIL. xii. 1357; Ἡρκουλάνεον, Dio Cassius, lxvi. 23; Ἡρκλανός, CIA. iii. 1197.

*hibiscum* : ī acc. to the Romance.

*hillae* : from hīra.

*hircus* : like hīrtus.

*hirsūtus* : like hīrtus.

*Hirtus* and *hīrtus* : ī acc. to the Romance.

*hiscō* : see § 49.

*Hispellum* : cf. Gr. Εἰσπέλλον, Strabo, v. 227.

*Hispo, Hīspulla* : like Hīspellum.

*hōnnus* : from hōra?

*hōrsum* : for \*hō-vorsum.

*hydrōps* : like Gen. hydrōpis; § 42. 2.

*Hymētus* : Gr. Ὑμητός.

*Hypermēstra* : Gr. Ὑπερμήστρα.

## I.

*ignis* : IGNIS, CIL. xi. 826.

*ilignus* : see § 38.

*illōrsum* : for \*illo-vorsum.

*Illyria* : EILLVRICO, CIL. i<sup>2</sup>. p. 77.

*impingō, -ere, impēgī, impāctus* : see § 46. 3. b).

*infestus* : INFĒSTI, CIL. v. 2627; cf. *manifestus*.  
*inlūstris* : from *lūx*.  
*Iōlcus* : Gr. Ἰωλλός.  
*instinctus* : see *distinguō*.  
*intelligō, intelligere, intellēxī, intellēctus* : like *legō*.  
*intervallum* : from *vallus*.  
*introrsum* : for \*intro-vorsum.  
*involutum* : ū in Plautus, *Captivi*, 267; § 36. 2.  
*istorsum* : for \*isto-vorsum.

## J.

*jēntāculum* : see § 40. 2. a).  
*jēntātiō* : see § 40. 2. a).  
*jūglāns* : from *Jov-* and *glāns*.  
*jungō, -ere, jūnxī, jūntus* ; see § 46. 3. b).  
*jūrgō* : for *jūrīgō*, from *jūs*.  
*Jūstinianus* : from *jūstus*.  
*jūstitium* : from *jūs*.  
*jūstus* : from *jūs* : also IŮSTO, CIL. ii. 210; v. 5919.  
*jūxtā, jūxtim* : from *jūgis* 'joined with.'

## L.

*lābor, lābī, lāpsus sum* : see § 46. 3; DILĀPSAM, CIL. xi. 3123.  
*lābrum*, 'bowl' : for *lavābrum* ; *labrum*, 'lip,' has ā.  
*labrūsca* : ū acc. to the Romance.  
*laevorsum* : for \*laevo-vorsum.  
*lāmna* : syncopated for *lāmīna*.  
*lārdum* : syncopated for *lāridum*.  
*Lārs, Lārtis* : LĀRT-, CIL. x. 633.  
*lārva* : like *lārva*, the early Latin form, e.g. Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 777; *Captivi* 598.  
*lātrīna* : for *lavātrīna* ; cf. Plautus, *Curculio*, 580; § 36. 2.  
*lātrō* : ā in *oblātrātrīcem*, Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 681; § 36. 2.

*lavābrum* : see § 51. 1.  
*lavācrum* : see § 51. 1.  
*legō, -ere, lēgī, lēctus* : see § 46. 3.  
*lemma* : Gr. λήμμα.  
*lēmniscus* : Gr. ληνισκός.  
*Lēmnos* : Gr. Λήμνος.  
*lentiscus* : ī acc. to the Romance.  
*libra* : ī in Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 816; § 36. 2.  
*librō* : like *libra*.  
*lictor* : LICTOR, CIL. vi. 699 and often; LICTOR, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, v. 51; λεκτωρ, Eckinger (*Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften*, p. 43).  
*lignum* : see § 38.  
*lubricus* : ū in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 853; § 36. 2.  
*lūceō, -ere, lūxī* : see § 46. 3.  
*lūcta* : ū acc. to the Romance.  
*lūctor* : like *lūcta*.  
*lūctus* : from *lūgeō* : also LŮCTVM, CIL. vi. 1527 e. 66; LŮCTV, CIL. v. 337; x. 4041. 2.  
*lūgeō, lūgēre, lūxī* : see § 46. 3.  
*lūstrum*, 'expiation' : LŮSTRVM, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii. 3, 5, 8; ii. 3, 6, 10; *lustrum*, 'haunt,' has ū.  
*lūstrō* : like *lūstrum*.  
*lūxuria* : see *lūxus*.  
*lūxus* : ū acc. to the Romance.  
*Lycūrgus* : Gr. Λυκοῦργος.

## M.

*māgnus* : see § 38.  
*malignus* : see § 38; so also the Romance.  
*mālle* : for \*mah- (*magis*) + *velle*.  
*manifestus* : [MANI]FĒSTVM, CIL. i. p. 319; very uncertain.  
*Mānlius* : from *Mānius*; MĀNLIO, MĀNLIA, CIL. v. 615; MĀNLIAE, ix. 3942.

*Mārcellus, Mārcella* : from *Mārcus* ;  
MARCELLA, CIL. xii. 3188.

*Mārcius* : from *Mārcus* ; MĀRCIVS,  
CIL. v. 555 *et passim* ; Μάρκιος,  
CIG. 1137.

*Mārcus* : MAARCO, CIL. i. 1006 ; xiv.  
2802 ; MĀRCI, Boissieu, *Inscriptions*  
*de Lyon*, p. 143 ; Μάρκος, CIG. 887  
*et passim*.

*Mārs, Mārtis* : MĀRTIS, *Monumentum*  
*Ancyranum*, iv. 21 ; CIL. x. 809  
*et passim*.

*Mārtiālis* : like *Mārs*.

*māssa* : Gr. μάζα.

*mātrimōnium* : from *māter*.

*mātrix* : from *māter*.

*mātrōna* : from *māter* ; MĀTRŌNA,  
CIL. v. 5249.

*māxilla* : acc. to Priscian, iii. 36.

*māximus* : MĀX[IMO, CIL. vi. 2080.

## 17.

*māza* : Gr. μάζα.

*mercēnnārius* : for \**mercēd-narius*.

*Mētrodrōrus* : Gr. Μητρόδωρος.

*mētrōpolis* : Gr. μητρόπολις.

*mīlle, mīllia* : MILLIA, *Monumentum*  
*Ancyranum*, i. 16 ; MILLIENS, iii.

34 ; ī acc. to the Romance.

*mīlvus* : as in the early Latin *mīlvos*.

*Mōstellāria* : from *mōnstrum*.

*mūcrō* : ū in Atta, *Frag.* 13 (ed.  
Ribbeck) ; § 36. 2.

*mūlleus* : ū acc. to the Romance.

*mūllus* : ū acc. to the Romance.

*mūscerda* : from *mūs*.

*mūsculus* : from *mūs*.

*mūscus* : ū acc. to the Romance.

*mūstēla* : from *mūs*.

*Mycalēssus* : Gr. Μυκαλησσός.

## N.

*nancīscor* : see § 49.

*Nārnia* : Umbrian *Nahar-* (= ā).

*nārrō* : NĀRREM, Boissieu, *Inscrip-*  
*tions de Lyon*, p. 136.

*nāscor* : § 49 ; NĀSCERER, *Monumen-*  
*tum Ancyranum*, ii. 44 ; NĀSCENTI-  
BUS, CIL. xii. 3702.

*nāsturcium* : from *nāsus*.

*nefāstus* : from *nefās*.

*neglēgō, -ere, neglēxī, neglēctus* ; see  
*legō*.

*nēquīdquam (nēquīcquam)* : from abl.  
*quīd*.

*nītor, nītī, nīxus sum* : see § 46. 3.

*nōlle* : from *ne* + \**volle* (through the  
assimilated form \**no-volle* ?).

*nōndum* : from *nōn* and *dum* ; NŌN-  
DVM, CIL. x. 4041. 6.

*nōngentī* : for \**no(v)engentī*.

*nōnne* : from *nōn*.

*nōnnūllī* : from *nōn* and *nūllus*.

*Nōrba* : Gr. Νόρβα.

*nōscō* : ō acc. to the Romance.

*nūbō, -ere, nūpsī, nūpta* : see § 46. 3.

*nūllus* : from *ne* and *ūllus* ; NŪLLVM,  
CIL. x. 4787.

*nūndinae, nūndinum* : for \**no(v)en-*  
*dinae* ; *noundinae* in early Latin ;  
NŪNDINVS, CIL. xii. 3650.

*nūntius* : for \**nove-ntius* ? ('news-  
bringer').

*nūntiō* : like *nūntius*.

*nūptiae* : like *nūpta*.

*nūsquā* : like *ūsquā*.

*nūtrio* : like *nūtrīx*.

*nūtrīx* : ū in Plautus, *Curculio*, 643 ;  
*nūtrīcātus*, *Miles Gloriosus*, 656 ;  
*nūtrīcant*, *Miles Gloriosus*, 715 ;  
§ 36. 2.

## O.

*oblīvīscor* : see § 49 ; OBLIVISCVMR,  
CIL. vi. 6250.

*Oenōtria* : Gr. Οἰνωτρία.

*ōlla* : for *aula* ; ŪLLA, CIL. vi. 10006  
*et passim*.



*Onchēstus* : Gr. Ὀγχηστος.

*Opūs, -ūntis* : Gr. Ὀποῦντος.

*ōrca* : *ō* acc. to the Romance.

*ōrdior* : like *ōrdō*.

*ōrdō* : ŌRDINIS, Boissieu, *Inscriptions*

de Lyon, p. 136; CIL. ix. 5177;

xii. 3312; *ō* acc. to the Romance.

*ōrnō* : ŌRNARE, CIL. xii. 4333 *et passim*.

*ōrnāmentum* : ŌRNAMENTIS, CIL. xii.

3203 *et passim*; *cf.* *ōrnō*.

*ōscen* : from *ōs*.

*ōscillum* : from *ōsculum*.

*ōscitō* : from *ōs*.

*ōsculor* : from *ōs*.

*Ōstia* : from *ōs*; Gr. Ὀστία.

*ōstium* : from *ōs*; ὠστια, scholion to Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 330; ŌSTIVM, CIL. vi. 4710; ŌSTIŌ, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 14.

*ovillus* : from *ovinus*.

*Ōxus* : Gr. Ὠξος, in Strabo.

## P.

*pacīscor, pacīscī, pactus sum* : see § 49.

*Paelignus* : see § 38; Gr. Παλιῖνοι in Appian, *B. C.* i. 39.

*palimpsēstus* : Gr. παλινψηστος.

*palūster* : from *palūs*.

*pangō, pangere, pepigī, pāctus* : the compounds *impāctus, compāctus*, point to *ā*; see § 46. 4. c).

*paradīgma* : Gr. παράδειγμα.

*pāscō, pāscere, pāvī, pāstus* : see § 49.

*pāstillus* : like *pāscō*.

*pāstiō* : like *pāstus*.

*pāstor* : like *pāstus*; PAASTORES, CIL.

i. 551; PASTŌRIS, CIL. x. 827.

*pāxillus* : acc. to Priscian, iii. 36.

*pēgma* : Gr. πῆγμα.

*pentāthlum* : Gr. πένθλον.

*perēmtālīs* : from *perēmtus* (*emō*).

*pergō, pergere, perrēxī, perrēctus* : like *regō*.

*periclitor* : like *periculum*.

*perimō, -ere, perēmī, perēmtus* : like *emō*.

*Permēssus* : Gr. Περμησός.

*perrēpto* : from *rēptō* (*rēpō*).

*Pessīnūs, -ūntis* : Gr. Πεσσινοῦντος.

*Phoenīssa* : like *Phoenīx*.

*pīctor* : like *pīctus* (*pingō*).

*pīctūra* : like *pīctus*.

*pīgmentum* : PIGMENT-, CIL. viii.

1344; *i* acc. to the Romance.

*pīgnus* : see § 38.

*pingō, pingere, pīnxī, pīctus* : see under *pingō*, which is precisely parallel.

*pīstillum, pīstor, pīstus* (from *pīnsō*),

*pīstrīnum, pīstrīlla* : PISTVS, CIL.

v. 6998. The Romance evidence is conflicting, but is favorable to *i*.

*plēbīscītum* = *plēbī scītum*, and better so written.

*plēbs* : like genitive *plēbis*; PLĒPS, CIL. v. 6797; xii. 4333.

*plēctrum* : Gr. πλῆκτρον.

*Plisthenēs* : Gr. Πλεισθένης.

*plōstellum* : from *plaustrum*.

*plūsculum* : from *plūs*.

*poētria, -is* : Gr. ποιητρία, ποιητρῖς.

*Pōlla* = *Paulla*; PŌLLA, CIL. xii. 3471; *cf.* the following word.

*Pōlliō* : from *Paullus*; PŌLLIO, CIL.

vi. 22840 *et passim*; Πωλλίων in

Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and elsewhere.

*pollūceō, -ēre, -ūxī* : § 46. 3.

*Polymēstor* : Gr. Πολυμήστωρ.

*porrigō, -ere, porrēxī, porrēctus* : like *regō*.

*praelūstris* : like *lūx*.

*prāgmaticus* : Gr. πρᾶγματικός.

*Prāxiteles* : Gr. Πράξιτέλης (πράξις).

*prēndō* : for *pre-hendō*.



*prīmōrdium* : from *ōrdior*.  
*princeps* : from *prīmus* and *capīō*.  
*prīncipālis* : from *prīnceps*.  
*prīncipātus* : from *prīnceps*.  
*prīncipiūm* : from *prīnceps*.  
*Prīsciānus* : from *prīscus*.  
*prīscus* and *Prīscus* : PRISCVS, CIL.  
 xi. 1940; PRISCVS, CIL. ix. 4354. c;  
 Πρεῖσκος, CIG. 4494 *et passim*.  
*prīstinus* : like *prīscus*.  
*prīvignus* : see § 38.  
*prōcrāstinō* : from *crās*.  
*Procrūstēs* : Gr. Προκρούστης.  
*profēstus* : from *fēstus*.  
*prōmō*, -ere, *prōmpsi*, *prōmptus* : see  
 § 46. 3.  
*prōpūgnāculum* : *pūgnō*.  
*prōrsus*, *prōrsus* : for \**pro-vorsus*,  
 -sus.  
*prōsperus* : from *prō* \**spēre*? ('accord-  
 ing to expectation').  
*prōstibulum* : from *prō* and *stabulum*.  
*Pūblicius*, *Pūblicola* : from *pūblicus*.  
*Poplicola* is another word, viz. from  
*poplus*, early form of *populus*,  
 'people.'  
*pūblicus* : from *pūbes*; PVBLCOR[VM],  
 CIL. vi. 1377; *ū* in Plautus, *Miles*  
*Gloriosus*, 102, 103; *Captivi*, 334 *et*  
*passim*; § 36. 2; *ū* also acc. to the  
 Romance.  
*Pūblius* : like *Pūblius*.  
*Pūblius* : like *pūblicus*.  
*pūgna* : see § 38.  
*pūgnāx* : like *pūgna*.  
*pūgno* : like *pūgna*.  
*pūgnus* : see § 38.  
*pulvillus* : from *pulvīnus*; PVLVILLVS,  
 CIL. i. *Fasti Cap.*, a. 297.  
*pungō*, -ere, *pupugi*, *pūnctus* : *ū* acc. to  
 the Romance.  
*pūrgō* : for \**pūrigō* (*pūrus*); *ū* also  
 acc. to the Romance.

*pūrgāmentum* : from *pūrgō*.  
*pūrgātiō* : from *pūrgō*.  
*pūstula* : from *pūs*; *ū* acc. to the Ro-  
 mance.

## Q.

*quārtus* : QUARTVS, CIL. iii. 4959;  
*Monumentum Ancyranum*, iii. 22  
*et passim*.  
*quārtānus* : like *quārtus*.  
*quārtārius* : like *quārtus*.  
*quiēscō* : acc. to Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*,  
 vii. 15, some persons pronounced  
*quiēscō* in his day; but other -scō  
 formations have invariably *ē* before  
*sc*; *quiēvī* and *quiētus* also point to  
*quiēscō*; QUIESCERE is found CIL.  
 vi. 25531.  
*quīncūnx* : from *quīnque* and *ūncia*.  
*quīndecim* : from *quīnque* and *decem*;  
*ī* acc. to the Romance.  
*quīngentī*, *quīngēnī*, *quīngentiēs* : from  
*quīnque*.  
*Quīnquātrūs* : from *quīnque*; *ā* in  
 Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 691;  
 § 36. 2.  
*quīnque* : QVINQVE, CIL. vi. 3539 *et*  
*passim*; *ī* acc. to the Romance.  
*quīnquāgintā* : from *quīnque*.  
*quīnquennium* : from *quīnque*.  
*quīnquiēs* : from *quīnque*.  
*quīntāna* : from *quīntus*.  
*Quīntilis* : from *quīntus*.  
*Quīntilius* : from *quīntus*; QVINCTI-  
 LIO, CIL. iii. 384.  
*quīntus*, *Quīntus*, *Quīnctius* : from  
*quīnque*; QVINTVM, *Monumentum*  
*Ancyranum*, iii. 1; *ī longa* occurs  
 repeatedly; Κόειντος, CIG. 2003;  
*ī* acc. to the Romance.  
*quīppe* : for *quīd* (Abl.) and -pe.  
*quōrsus* : for \**quo-vorsus*.

## R.

*rāstrum* : from *rādō*.  
*rēāpse* : for *rē eāpse* (Abl. of *ipsa*).  
*rēctē*, *rēctor* : like *rēctus*.  
*rēctus* : see *regō*.  
*redīgō*, -ere, *redēgī*, *redāctus* : like *agō*.  
*redīmō*, -ere, *redēmī*, *redēptus* : like *emō* ; 'Ρεδῆνπτα, CIG. 9811 ; REDĒPTA, CIL. vi. 22251.  
*redēptiō*, *redēptor* : from *redīmō*.  
*rēgnūm* : see § 38.  
*rēgnō* : like *rēgnūm*.  
*rēgnātor*, *rēgnātrix* : from *rēgnō*.  
*regō*, -ere, *rēxī*, *rēctus* : see § 46. 3. b).  
*relinquō*, -ere, *reliquī*, *relictus* : see § 46. 3. b).  
*reminīscor*, -ī : see § 49.  
*rēpō*, *rēpere*, *rēpsī*, *rēptum* : see § 46. 3.  
*restinguō*, -ere, *restinxī*, *restinctus* : see *distinguō*.  
*rīxa* : ī acc. to the Romance.  
*rōscidus* : from *rōs*.  
*Rōsciūs* : RŌSCIO, CIL. vi. 2060, 5 ; 'Ρώσκιος, Plutarch, *Cicero*, 3 ; 5 ; *Pompey*, 15.  
*rōstrum* : from *rōdō* ; ῥώστρον, Hesychius.  
*Rōstra* : from *rōstrum*.  
*Rōxāna* : Gr. 'Ρωξάνη.  
*rūctō* : acc. to the Romance (Gröber, *Archiv*, v. p. 370).  
*rūctus* : like *rūctō*.  
*rūrsus* : for \**re-vorsus*.  
*rūsticus* : from *rūs* ; RŪSTICVS, CIL. ix. 4012 ; ū acc. to the Romance.

## S.

*salīgñus*, *salīgñeus* : see § 38.  
*sancīō*, *sancīre*, *sānxī*, *sānctus* : see § 46. 3. b).  
*Sārsina* : SASSINAS in an inscription.  
*scēptrum* : Gr. σκήπτρον.

*scīscō* : see § 49 ; D[ESC]ISCENTEM, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 28.  
*scribō*, -ere, *scripsī*, *scriptus* : see § 46. 3 ; SCRIPTVM, CIL. vi. 2011 ; CONSCREIPTVM, CIL. i. 206. 87 ; 109 ; CŌNSCRĪPTIS, CIL. x. 3903 ; ī acc. to the Romance ; Umbrian *screihtor* = *scriptōs* (Nom. Plu.).  
*sēgmen* : like *sēgmentum*.  
*sēgmentum* : see § 39.  
*sēgnis* : SĒGNIS in a Herculean papyrus.  
*sēligō*, *sēligere*, *sēlēgī*, *sēlēctus* : like *lēgō*.  
*Selīnūs*, -ūntis : Gr. Σελινοῦντος.  
*sēmēstris* : for \**ses-mēstris*, \**sexmēstris* ; see § 89.  
*sēmūncia* : from *sēmi*- and *ūncia*.  
*septūnx* : from *ūncia*.  
*sēsēcūncia* : for *sēsquī*- and *ūncia*.  
*sēsēcuplex*, *sēsēcuplus* : for *sēsquī*- and -*plex*.  
*Sesōstris* : Σέσωστρις.  
*sēsquī* : = *sēmisque*.  
*sēstertius* : for *sēmīs tertius*.  
*Sēstius* : Gr. Σήστιος, in Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 17. 2 *et passim* ; Σηστία, CIA. iii. 1450.  
*Sēstos*, *Sēstī* : Gr. Σηστός, Σήστιοι.  
*Sīgnia* : SEIGNIA, CIL. i. 11.  
*signum* : SEIGNVM, CIL. xiv. 4270 ; SIGNA, Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 606 ; cf. § 38 fin.  
*significō*, *signo* : like *signum*.  
*sinistrōrsus* : for \**sinistro-vorsus*.  
*sīstrum* : Gr. σείστρον.  
*sōbrius* : ō in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 812 ; § 36. 2.  
*Sōcratēs* : Gr. Σωκράτης.  
*sōlstitium* : from *sōl*.  
*Sōphrōn* : Gr. Σώφρων.  
*sōspes* : Gr. Σώσις, CIA. iii. 1161 *et passim*.

*sōspita, sōspitō* : like *sōspes*.

*stāgnō* : like *stāgnum*.

*stāgnum* : see § 38.

*stilla* : *ī* acc. to the Romance.

*stīllicidium, stīllō* : like *stīlla*.

*struō, -ere, strūxī, strūctus* : see § 46.

3. *b*) ; *ū* also acc. to the Romance.

*strūctor* : like *strūctus* ; cf. STRVCTOR,

CIL. x. 708 ; *ū* acc. to Gellius, xii.

3. 4.

*strūctūra* : like *strūctus*.

*sublūstris* : like *lūx*.

*substrūctiō* : like *strūctus*.

*suēscō* : as in *suēvī, suētus*.

*sūgō, -ere, sūxī, sūctus* : see § 46. 3 ;

*ū* acc. to the Romance.

*suīllus* : from *suīnus*.

*sūmō, -ere, sūmpsī, sūmptus* : see § 46.

3 ; *ū* also acc. to the Romance.

*sūmptus* : from *sūmō*.

*sūrculus* : from *sūrus*.

*surgō, -ere, surrēxī, surrēctus* : like *regō*.

*sūrsūm* : for \**su-vorsum*.

*sūtrīna* : like *sūtor*.

*Sūtrium* : *ū* in Plautus, *Casina* 524 ; § 36. 2.

*syllēpsis* : Gr. σύλληψις.

## T.

*tāngō, -ere, tetigī, tāctus* : see § 46. 3. *b*).

*tāctiō* : like *tāctus*.

*Tartēssus* : Gr. Ταρτησός.

*tāxillus* : acc. to Priscian, iii. 36.

*Tecmēssa* : Gr. Τέκμησσα.

*tēctum* : from *tēgō*.

*tēgō, -ere, tēxī, tēctus* : see § 46. 3. *b*).

*Telmēssus* : Gr. Τελμησός.

*Tēmnos* : Gr. Τημνός.

*Termēssus* : Gr. Τερμησός.

*terūncius* : from *ūncia*.

*theātrum* : Gr. θέατρον.

*tīgnum* : see § 38.

*Tīllius* : TILLIVS, CIL. vi. 2043.

*tīngō, -ere, tīnxī, tīnctus* : see § 46. 3. *b*).

*trāctim* : like *trāctus*.

*trācto* : like *trāctus*.

*trahō, -ere, trāxī, trāctus* : see § 46. 3. *b*).

*Trapezūs, -ūntis* : Gr. Τραπεζοῦς, -οῦντος.

*trifōrmis* : from *fōrma*.

*trīstis* : TRISTIOR, CIG. 6268 ; *ī* also acc. to the Romance.

*trūcta* : *ū* acc. to the Romance.

## U.

*ūllus* : from *ūnus* ; VLLA, CIL. ii. 1473 ; VILLI, CIL. vi. 10230.

*ūlna* : Gr. ὠλένη.

*ūlva* : like *ūlīgō*.

*ūncia* : like *ūnus*.

*ūnctiō* : like *ūnctus* (*ungō*).

*ūndecim, undecimus* : from *ūnus* and *decem*.

*ūndēvigintī, etc.* : like *ūnus*.

*ungō, -ere, ūnxī, ūnctus* : see § 46. 3. *b*).

*ūrō, -ere, ussī, ūstus* : *ū* in the Perfect Participle acc. to the Romance ; for the *ū* in *ussī*, see § 53 s. v.

*ūspiam* : like *ūsq̄ue*.

*ūsquā* : like *ūsq̄ue*.

*ūsq̄ue* : *ū* acc. to the Romance.

*ūstrīna* : like *ūstus*.

*ūsūrpō* : *ūsū rapiō* ?

## V.

*vāllum, vāllus* : VĀLLĀRI, CIL. ii. 4509 ; also VĀLIVS, VĀLLIA, CIL. xiv. 4039.

*vāllāris* : see *vāllum*.

*vāllō* : see *vāllum*.

*vāsculum* : like *vās*.

*vāstus* : the Teutonic languages point to a long root vowel.

*vēctis*, 'Isle of Wight': Gr. Οὐκτίς.  
*vēgrandis*: from *vē-* and *grandis*.

*vēlābrum*: *ā* in Plautus, *Curculio*,  
 483; § 36. 2.

*vēndō*: from *vēnum* and *dō*.

*vērnuus*: from *vēr*.

*vēstibulum*: *vē-* + *stabulum*? Cf. *prō-*  
*stibulum*.

*vēstīgium*: *vē* + *steigh-*?

*vēxillum*: VÉXILLO, CIL. xii. 3167;  
 Byzantine Gr. βήξίλλα; CIG. 4483,  
 οὐξίλλατι(ῶ)σιν; also acc. to Pris-  
 cian, iii. 36.

*vīctus*: from *vīvō*.

*vīlla*: VILLA, CIL. vi. 9834; the Ro-  
 mance points to *ī*.

*vīndēmīa*: from *vīnum* and *dēmō*.

*Vīpsānius*: VIPSANI, CIL. vi. 12782;  
 VIPSANIA, CIL. vi. 8877; Βειψάνιος,  
 CIG. 5709.

*Vīpsānus*: VĪPSANVS, CIL. vi. 2039  
 and frequently; Οὐειψτανού, CIG.  
 5837, b.; CIA. iii. 621.

*vīscus*: VISCERIS, CIL. vi. 1975.

*vīvō*, *ere*, *vīxī*, *vīctum*: see § 46. 3;  
 VEIXIT, CIL. xiv. 2485; VIXIT,  
 CIL. ii. 3449; VICTVRO, CIL. vi.  
 12,562; βεῖξίτ in an inscription  
 cited by Eckinger (*Orthographie*  
*Lat. Wörter in Griech. Inschrif-*  
*ten*, p. 43).

*vīctus*: like *vīvō*.

*Vōpīscus*: Gr. Οὐοπεισκος; VOPISCO,  
 CIL. x. 4872.

## X.

*Xenophōn*, *-ōntis*: Gr. Ξενοφῶν, -ῶντος.

## Z.

*zōstēr*: Gr. ζωστήρ.

## 53. WORDS WHOSE HIDDEN QUANTITIES ARE IN DISPUTE.

*agnātus*, *agnōtus*, etc.: *ā* Marx; see  
 § 38.

*agnus*: *ā* acc. to all the authorities;  
 but see § 38.

*alliciō*: some scholars mark the *e* of  
 the Perfect long in *allexī*, *illexī*,  
*pellexxī*; and likewise in *-spexī*  
*(aspexxī, cōnspexxī, etc.)*, *flexī*, *pexī*,  
*vexī*. This marking rests upon a  
 statement of Priscian in ix. 28. But  
 Priscian in this passage simply says  
 that Perfects in *-xī* have a long  
 vowel before the *x* only when the  
 vowel is *e*; he does not state that  
 every *e* is long before *-xī*. More-  
 over, little weight is to be attached  
 to this testimony; for in the para-  
 graph immediately preceding (ix.

27) Priscian lends the weight of  
 his authority to such forms as *trāxxī*,  
*mānsī*, *dūxxī*, which certainly had  
 a long vowel in the best period.  
 Osthoff (*Geschichte des Perfects*, p.  
 227) and Brugmann (*Grundriss*  
*der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, ii.  
 p. 1182) support *ē* in Perfects of  
 this type by arguments drawn from  
 comparative grammar; but the evi-  
 dence does not warrant a positive  
 conclusion in their favor.

*amygdalum*: *y* Marx, without citation  
 of evidence. Gröber (*Archiv*, i. 240)  
 and Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 45)  
 give *y*.

*Appulus*, *Appulia*: *ā* Marx. *Āpulus*,  
*Āpulia* are the better spelling.

*arca*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx and Lewis (E.L.D.). The word occurs with the *apex* (ARCAE) in Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 279, but it is doubtful whether this single instance justifies our recognizing the *a* as long. The root *arc-*, 'hold, confine,' had originally a short vowel, as is shown by *coerceō* (for \**co-arceō*); \**ārceō* would have retained the  $\bar{a}$  in composition; see § 72. Nevertheless it is undeniable that a tendency existed in certain localities to lengthen the short vowel before *r* + a consonant. In some words this resulted in permanent lengthening of short vowels in the classical speech, e.g. in *fōrma*, *quārtus* (cf. *quat-tuor*); *ōrca*, and probably in *ōrdō*, *ōrdior*, *ōrnō*. In case of other words we simply meet isolated local manifestations of the tendency, e.g. in *ARVĀLI*, CIL. vi. 913; *LIBĒRTIS*, CIL. x. 3523; *SĒRVILIO*, Henzen, 6490; *VIRGO*, CIL. vi. 2150; *VĪRTVTIS*, CIL. vi. 449; *CŌRVINVS*, vi. 2041; *ŌRFITO*, vi. 353; *CORDIAE*, vi. 22,915; *NĀRBŌNE*, xii. 3203; *NĀRBONĒSIS*, xii. 3163; *HŌRT[OS]*, vi. 9493; *COHŌRT[IS]*, vi. 2993; *FŌRT[IS FŌRTVNAE]*, vi. 9493; *FŌRTVNATA*, vi. 7527. Yet these sporadic inscriptional markings hardly justify our assuming *ārvm*, *ārṽālis*, *libērtus*, *sērvus*, *vīrgō*, etc., for the classical speech; and the same applies to *arca*. See Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 91.

*Arrūns*:  $\bar{A}$  Marx.

*arundō*:  $\bar{u}$  Lewis (E.L.D.), apparently on the basis of a statement by an anonymous sixth century

grammarian (Keil, viii. 111. 14); but the Romance points to *u*. Gröber, *Archiv*, i. 243; Körtling, *Wörterbuch*, col. 71.

*arvm*, *arṽālis*: see *arca*.

*ascendō*, *ascribō*, etc.:  $\bar{a}$  Marx; see § 48.

*ascia*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx; see § 89.

*Asclēpiadēs*:  $\bar{A}$  Marx.

*Asculum*:  $\bar{A}$  Marx.

*aspernōr*, *asportō*, etc.:  $\bar{a}$  Marx; see § 48.

*aspiciō*, *ere*, *exī*, *ectus*:  $\bar{e}x\bar{i}$  Lewis; see above under *allictiō*.

*assus*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx, as if for \**ārsus*, which is improbable. See Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 545.

*astus*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx, as if for \**axtus*; see § 89.

*attrectō*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx, who explains *attrectō* as for *attractō* (from *trāctus*); but  $\bar{a}$  never becomes  $\bar{e}$  in Latin; on the other hand the vocalism of *attrectō* points necessarily to a previous \**at-tractō* (see § 46. 4. c). Unless, therefore, we reject the evidence in favor of *trāctus* as the regular form of the participle of *trahō* and its compounds (see § 46. 3. b), we shall have to assume the existence of an original 'by-form' *trāctus*, to which we shall refer *attrectō*, *contractō*, *obtrectō*, etc. Similar doublets existed in case of *dīctus*: *dīctus* (§ 52. s. v); *frūctus*: *frūctus* (§ 52. s. v.), and possibly *lātus*: \**lātus* (whence *Lātium*, 'the broad country').

*axis*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx, without warrant; Charisius (Keil, i. 111. 22) and Diomedes (Keil, i. 428) both testify to  $\bar{a}$ .

*braccæ*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx; see § 88. 1.

*bēs*, *bessis*:  $\bar{e}$  in oblique cases Marx; but in view of Quintilian's statement (i. 7. 20) that *ss* was not

written after a long vowel in the post-Ciceronian period, it is much more probable that the word followed the analogy of *as*, *assis*. Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 545.

*caballus*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx, as if a diminutive from an assumed *\*cabānus*, for which there is no warrant.

*Camillus*:  $\bar{i}$  acc. to *Appendix Probi* (Keil, iv. p. 197);  $\bar{i}$  acc. to *Martianus Capella* (p. 66. 4, ed. Eysenhardt).

*capessō*:  $\bar{e}$  acc. to Osthoff (*Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 221), who regards *capessō*, *facessō*, *laccessō*, as originally aorists of the same type as *habessō*, *licessit*, etc. Brugmann (*Grundriss*, ii. p. 1203), taking a different view of the formation, regards the *e* as short.

*carduus*: possibly  $\bar{a}$ , if from the same root as *cār-ex*, 'sedge' (lit. 'rough plant'?).

*carrus*, *carrūca*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx.

*Cassandra*: *Cāss-* Marx.

*cēdō*, -ere, *cessī*, *cessūrus*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx; *cessī* acc. to *Priscian*, ix. 27; the Romance languages point to *e* in both *cessī*, and *cessūrus* (d'Ovidio, in *Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 510; Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 537). Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 186, strangely gives  $\bar{e}$ .

*cessō*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx; see *cēdō*.

*cingō*, -ere, *cīnxī*, *cīnctus*: Marx and Lewis (E.L.D.) regard the *i* as short in *cīnxī*, *cīnctus*; likewise in *-stīnxī*, *-stīnctus*; *tīnxī*, *tīnctus* (except that Lewis has *tīnctus*); and in *pīnxī*, *fīnxī*. The Romance languages seem to point to  $\bar{i}$  in the Perfect and Perfect Participle of all

these words, e.g. Italian *cinsi*, *cinto*; *stinsi*, *stinto*; *finisi*, *finto*, etc. Inscriptions, moreover, give EXTINCTOS, CINCTVS. See d'Ovidio in *Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 501 f.; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, and Fröhde in *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xvi. p. 193.

*classis*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx, on the basis of an assumed etymological connection with *clārus*.

*cognātus*, *cognōmen*, *cognōscō*, and other words beginning with *cogn-*: the *o* here is usually regarded as long; but the evidence is not sufficient to warrant this view; see § 38.

*cōnfestim*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx, after the analogy of *manifestus*, which latter is somewhat uncertain.

*conjungō*, *conjūnx*:  $\bar{o}$  Marx, on the basis of CŌNIVGI, CIL. v. 1066; vi. 9914, which are too improbable to merit acceptance.

*cōnspiciō*, -ere, *exī*, *ectus*:  $\bar{e}x\bar{i}$  Lewis; see above under *alliciō*.

*contrectō*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx; see *attrectō*.

*damma*:  $\bar{a}$  Marx; see § 88. 1.

*dēspiciō*, -ere, *exī*, *ectus*:  $\bar{e}x\bar{i}$  Lewis (E.L.D.); see under *alliciō*.

*dētrectō*:  $\bar{e}$  Marx; see *attrectō*.

*discidium*, *discrībō*, *distō*, *distingūō*, *distingō*:  $\bar{d}is-$  Marx and Lewis (E.L.D.); see § 48.

*discō*:  $\bar{i}$  Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*discō* for *\*dī-dc-scō*); see § 89.

*distingūō*, -ere, *īnxī*, *īnctus*: see *cingō*. *duumvīr*:  $\bar{u}$  Marx and Lewis (E.L.D.); see § 42. 1.

*Dyrrhachium*:  $\bar{y}$  Marx, who cites the modern name *Durazzo*.

*ēnormis*:  $\bar{o}$  Marx and Lewis (E.L.D.); see *norma*.



*Erinnys*: ī Marx; cf. § 88. 1.

*extinguō, -ere, īnxi, īctus*: see *distinguō*.

*facessō*: ē Lewis (E.L.D.); see *capessō*.

*fastigium*: ā Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening; see § 89.

*fastus*, 'disdain': ā Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening; § 89.

*festinus, festinō*: ē Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening, as though for *fendit*; see § 89.

*festūca, fistūca*: ē and ī Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (see § 89), as though for *ferst*.

*fingō, -ere, fīnxi, fictus*: see *cingō*.

*fistula*: ī Lewis (E.L.D.), but the Romance shows *i*; Gröber (*Archiv*, ii. 288); Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 328).

*flectō, -ere, flexi; flēxi* Lewis (E.L.D.); see under *alliciō*.

*fluctus*: d'Ovidio in Gröber's *Grundriss*, i. p. 515, and Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 334, regard the *u* as long on the basis of the Romance; but it is admitted that the evidence is not altogether clear. If Italian *fiotto* is the descendant of Latin *fluctus*, this points to *u*.

*fluō, -ere, fluxi, fluxus*: flūxi, Lewis (E.L.D.); flūxi, fluxus, Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 334); flūxus, d'Ovidio (*Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 515); but the evidence is extremely scanty and conflicting.

*fōns, fontis*: ō in the oblique cases, Lewis (E.L.D.), see § 41.

*fors, forsit, forsitan, forte, fortasse, fortassis, fortuna, fortunus*: ō Lewis, apparently on the basis of

the *apex* in CIL. vi. 9493; 7527. But the second of these occurs in an inscription which has HORTIS. See under *arca*. Marx writes *fōrsit* and *fōrsitan* on the basis of the Romance. This may be correct for these two words; but it is difficult to believe that the other words of this group have ō. Greek transliterations show φόρτιν, Φόρτις.

*fortasse, fortassis*: ā Marx, who cites nothing in support.

*frendō, -ere, frenduī, frēsus, or fresus*: -ēssus Marx; § 98. 2.

*frōns, frondis*: ō in the oblique cases, Lewis; see § 41.

*frōns, frontis*: ō in the oblique cases, Lewis; see § 41.

*futtilis*: ū Marx; see § 88. 1.

*Garumna*: ū Marx.

*garriō, garrulus*: ā Marx, who connects with Gr. γάρῳ.

*gignō*: ī by most authorities; see § 38.

*gluttiō, gluttus*: ū Marx; see § 88. 1.

*grallae*: ā Marx.

*hallūcinor*: ā Marx; see § 88. 1.

*helluō*: ē Marx; see § 88. 1.

*hesternus*: hēs- Lewis, on the testimony of Marius Victorinus (Keil, vi. 15. 15). Historical grammar shows that the *e* was originally short. Cf. *heri*, Gr. χθές, etc. Hence, it is doubtful whether the isolated statement of a fourth century grammarian should receive credit as an index of the classical pronunciation.

*hircus*: the quantity of the *i* is doubtful, as the Romance words upon which judgment is based may be 'semi-literary'; see § 36. 5 fin. Cf. Gröber (*Archiv*, iii. 139); Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 389).

*hirundō*: *ū* Lewis, on the basis of an anonymous sixth century grammarian (Keil, viii. 111. 14). But the Romance points unanimously to *u*; see Gröber (*Archiv*, iii. 139); Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 389).

*hispidus*: *ī* Marx and Lewis. Marx cites the Romance, but the word is probably 'literary' in the Romance; see § 36. 5 fin. Neither Gröber nor Körting include it in their collections.

*icō*, *icere*, *icī*, *ictus*: *īctus* Marx; but *icō* seems to have been the normal present; while *icō* occurs only in rare cases of metrical lengthening. Hence, in the absence of specific evidence, *ictus* is more probable than *īctus*.

*immō*: *īmmō* Marx, in view of *īmus*; but cf. § 88. 1.

*incessō*: *ē* Marx; see *cēdō*.

*īnspiciō*, *-ere*, *exī*, *ectus*: *-ēxī* Lewis; see *alliciō*.

*intercessiō*: *ē* Marx; see *cēdō*.

*jubeō*, *-ēre*, *jussī*, *jussus*: *jūssī*, *jūssus* Marx; *jussī*, *jūssus* Lewis. The only authority for *ū* in *jussus* is *īvssvs*, CIL. vi. 77. But the *apex* here is entitled to no weight. The same inscription has at least one other error in the use of the *apex*, viz. *ANNIVS*. In favor of *jūssī* we find *īvss[IT]*, CIL. xii. 1930; *īvssIT*, iv. 25531; and *iovsIT*, CIL. i. 547 a, *et passim* in inscriptions of the ante-classical period. The simplest solution of the difficulties is to recognize an ante-classical *jūssī*, which is well attested by Quintilian in i. 7. 21, and a classical *jūssī*. The shortening occurs in accordance with the principle explained

in § 88. 1. In view of Quintilian's additional statement that *jussī* was the orthography of his day, and that *ss* was not written after a long vowel (i. 7. 20) this is almost a necessary conclusion. The *apex* in CIL. xii. 1930 is then a blunder, a result of the confusion of *jūssī* and *jūssī*. See Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 532 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. 1182; Fröhde, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xvi. p. 184.

*Juppiter*: *ū* Marx; see § 88. 1.

*laccessō*: *ē* Lewis; see *capessō*.

*lascivus*: *ā* Marx, on the basis of an assumed etymology, which connects the word with the root *lās-* (*lār-*) of *lārva*.

*libertus*: *ē* Lewis; see *arca*.

*libertās*: *ē* Lewis; see *arca*.

*limpidus*: *ī* Marx, on the basis of the Romance *lindo*; so Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 454; but others question the connection of *lindo* with *limpidus*, and refer the former word to a Germanic origin.

*littera*: *ī* Marx; see § 88. 1.

*Messalla*: *ā* Marx; see § 88. 1.

*miscēō*, *miscēre*, *miscuī*, *mixtus*: *ī* throughout acc. to Marx; *mīxtus* Lewis. The Romance shows *i* throughout. Gröber, *Archiv*, iv. 117; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, col. 494; 496.

*mittō*, *mittere*, *mīsī*, *missus*: *mīssus* Lewis (E.L.D.). The Romance points to *i*; a few suspicious instances of *i longa* occur, e.g. *DI-MISSIS*, CIL. iii. p. 862 (shown by Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects*, p. 526, to be probably a blunder); *MISSIONE*, x. 7890; *REMISSA*, xi. 1585.



*mōns, montis*: *ō* in oblique cases,

Lewis; see § 41.

*musca*: *ū* Marx; *u* acc. to the Romance.

*mussō*: *ū* Marx, who compares *mūtīō*.

*mussilō*: *ū* Marx; see *mussō*.

*Narbō, Narbōnēnsis*: *ā* Marx; see under *arca*.

*nesciō, nescius*: *ē* Lewis; but compare *nequeō*. The Romance points to *e*.

*norma*: *ō* Marx, who connects with Gr. γνῶριμος.

*nūsqum*: *u* Lewis; see *ūsqum*.

*obtrectō*: *ē* Marx; see *attrectō*.

*ostrum*: *ō* Marx, who connects with *austrum*.

*pannus*: *ā* Marx; cf. § 88. 1.

*pelliciō*: see *alliciō*.

*perspiciō*: see *aspiciō*.

*pestis*: *ē* Marx, in accordance with a fanciful etymology.

*pilleus*: *ī* Marx; see § 88. 1.

*pingō*; see *cingō*.

*pōns, pontis*: *ō* in oblique cases, Lewis; see § 41.

*posca*: *ō* Marx, who compares *pō-culum*; but the root had also a reduced form *pō-* (§ 69); cf. Gr. ποτόν.

*poscō*: *ō* Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*pōscō* for *\*porscō*); see § 89.

*postulō*: *ō* Marx, as in the case of *poscō*.

*p̄rōmiscuus*: *ī* Marx, as in the case of *miscō*.

*propinquus*: *ī* Lewis; but the Provençal, which apparently is the only Romance language that inherited the word from Latin, points to *i*.

*pulmō*: *ū* Marx and Lewis. Marx

compares Gr. πνεύμων, which proves nothing for Latin; the Romance points to *u*. Cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gram.*, p. 283, who explains *pulmō* as for *\*plmō*; see § 100. 1.

*quousque*: Lewis *u*; see *ūsque*.

*recessus*: *ē* Marx; see *cēdō*.

*respiciō, -ere, exī, ectus*: *-ēxī* Lewis; see *alliciō*.

*Sallustius*: *ā* Marx.

*sēcessus*: *ē* Marx; see *cēdō*.

*sescentī*: *sēs-* Marx and Lewis, on the theory of compensatory lengthening; see § 89. Marx compares *Sēstius* (for *Sextius*), but *ē* in that word is exceptional. See Fröhde, *Bezenberger's Beiträge*, xvi. 204.

*sinciput*: *ī* Marx and Lewis, on the basis of the etymology *sēmi* + *caput*, i.e. *sīnciput* for *\*sēnciput* by vowel assimilation; § 90.

*stannum*: *ā* Marx, on the basis of the 'by-form,' *stāgnum*.

*stella*: *stēla* acc. to the Romance; probably the form with two *l*'s had *e*.

*strenna*: *ē* Marx; see § 88. 1.

*supparum*: *ū* Marx; cf. § 88. 1.

*suspiciō, -ere, exī, ectus*: *ū* Marx; see § 48. On *suspexī*, see *alliciō*.

*taxō*: *ā* Marx.

*testa*: *ē* Marx and Lewis, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*testa* for *\*tersta*); see § 89. The Romance points to *e*.

*testis, testor, testāmentum, testimonium, etc.*: *ē* Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*tēstis* for *\*terstis*); see § 89.

*tinguō, -ere, tīnxī, tīnctus*: see *cingō*.

*torreō, -ēre, torruī, tostus*: *tōstus* Marx, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*tōstus* for *\*lorstus*); see § 89. The Romance points to

*o.* See d'Ovidio in Gröber's *Grundriss*, i. p. 520; Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 726); Gröber (*Archiv*, vi. 129).

*tressis*: ē Marx; see *hēs*, *bessis*.

*Tuscī*: ū Marx and Lewis, on the theory of compensatory lengthening (*Tūscī* for \**Turscī*); see § 89. The Romance points to *u*.

*Tusculum*: ū Marx and Lewis; see *Tuscī*.

*ultrā*, *ulterior*, *ultimus*, etc.: ū Marx and Lewis, on the basis of an alleged *apex* in VLTRA, Boissieu, *Inscriptions de Lyon*, p. 136. But the *apex* does not occur there. See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 595. The Romance points to *u*.

*urceus*: ū Marx, who cites *ōrca*; but the Romance points to *u*.

*urna*: ū Marx and Lewis. Marx compares *ūrīnātor*; but *urna* is to be referred to the root *arc-*, weak form *urc-* (§ 100. 2), whence *ur(c)na*. The Italian *urna*, if a genuine Latin inheritance, would point to ū; but it is probably purely literary; § 36. 5 fin.

*ūrō*, -ere, *ūssī*, *ūstus*: ūssī Marx; but Priscian (Keil i. 466. 6) gives *ūssī*. See under *jubeō*.

*viscum*: ī Marx and Lewis. Marx cites the evidence of the Romance;

but Gröber (*Archiv*, vi. 144), Körting (*Wörterbuch*, col. 766), and d'Ovidio (*Gröber's Grundriss*, i. p. 503), interpret the Romance as pointing to *i*.

*vectigal*, *vectis*, *vectō*, *vector*, *vectūra*, etc.: ē Lewis. The only evidence is that furnished by the Romance in the case of *vectis*; this points to *e*. The related words must have had the same quantity.

*vehō*, -ere, *vexī*, *vectus*: vēxī, vēctus Lewis. For *vēxī*, see under *alliciō*; on *vectus*, see *vectigal*.

*Venafrum*: ā Marx, and the lexicons; on what grounds is not clear.

*vescus*: ē Marx, on the basis of the questionable etymology *vē* + *ēsca*.

*vexō*: ē Lewis; see *vectigal*.

*victor*, *victus*, *victōria*, etc.: ī Lewis, on the basis of repeated inscriptional markings, such as VICTOR, CIL. vi. 10056; 10115; 1058; VICTORINVS, vi. 1058; VICTORIAM, vi. 2086; INVICTAI, vi. 353. But with a single exception no one of these inscriptions can be shown to antedate the third century A.D.; and I quite agree with Christiansen (*de Apicibus et I longis*, p. 49) in the view that in the classical period the *i* was short; later, apparently it was lengthened.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ACCENT.

See BRUGMANN, *Grundriss*, i. §§ 679 ff.; STOLZ, *Lateinische Grammatik*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 317 ff.; *Lateinische Lautlehre*, pp. 95 ff.; SEELMANN, *Aussprache des Latein*, pp. 15 ff.; LINDSAY, *Latin Language*, pp. 148 ff.

54. Accent in general is the prominence of one special syllable of a word as compared with the other syllables of the same word. This prominence may manifest itself in three different ways. Thus :

1. A syllable may be made prominent by 'stressing' it, *i.e.* by uttering it with a more energetic expulsive act on the part of the lungs (*stress accent*). The English and German accent are of this nature.

2. A syllable may be made prominent by uttering it at a higher pitch than the other syllables of the same word (*musical accent*). The Greek and Sanskrit accent were of this kind.

3. A syllable may be *quantitatively* prominent, *i.e.* its time may be greater than that of the other syllables of the same word. No language was ever accented essentially on the quantitative principle alone ; but traces of the operation of this principle are noticeable at one stage of Latin accentuation.

Neither stress accent nor musical accent prevails alone in any language. As a rule the one constitutes the essential accentual principle of a language, while the other is subordinate. Thus in English we notice chiefly the stress accent ; but the rise and fall of pitch also exists as a feature of the spoken language.

55. 1. The Latin accent was essentially a stress accent ; so far as a musical accent existed, it was subordinate to the other. In

the prehistoric period the Latin accent rested upon the initial syllable of the word. In this respect Latin represents a deviation from the accentuation of the Indo-European parent-speech. In the parent-speech the accent was free, *i.e.* it might rest upon any syllable of a polysyllabic word. Evidences of the prehistoric Latin accent (*i.e.* the stress accent on the initial syllable) are seen in the weakening of unaccented vowels and in the loss of unaccented syllables. Thus :

a) Vowel-weakening : *exerceō* for \**éx-arceō* ; *cōnficiō* for \**cón-faciō* ; *exīstumō* for \**éxaistumō* ; *inimīcus* for \**ín-amīcus* ; *contubernālis* for \**cóntabernālis* ; *cecīdī* for \**cécaidī* (*caedō*) ; *conclūdō* for \**cón-claudō* ; *Mānlius* for *Mānilius*.

b) Syllable-loss : *reppulī* for \**ré-pepulī* ; *surpuī* for \**súr-rapuī* ; *ūn-decim* for \**ūno-decem*.

2. In course of time another factor seems to have become operative in Latin accentuation, *viz.* *quantity*. Apparently a long penult came to assume such prominence as to receive a secondary stress. Thus *pépércī* became *pépércī* ; *inimīcus* became *inimīcus* ; *éxīstumāmus* became *éxīstumāmus*. Where the penult was short, the preceding syllable seems to have received the secondary accent, as *éxīstumō* for *éxīstumō* ; *cōnficiunt* for *cōnficiunt*. Ultimately this secondary accent prevailed over the primary initial accent, and thus established the traditional accentuation of the historical period, the so-called 'Three Syllable Law,' by which the accent is restricted to the last three syllables of a word, resting upon the penult if that is long, otherwise upon the antepenult. Yet the first syllable of Latin words seems to have always retained a certain degree of prominence ; for it is regularly retained in Romance, while unaccented syllables in the interior of a word frequently vanish.

3. It is extremely improbable that Latin in the historical period was as strongly stressed as English and German, for example. One reason for this is found in the accentuation of the Romance languages. These, in the main, retain the Latin accent in its

original position, but they all agree in showing a much slighter degree of stress on the accented syllable than exists in English or German. More weighty is the evidence of Latin poetry. Here the quantitative principle is the fundamental basis of the verse. A decided stress accent would have conflicted with this to the extent of obscuring the metrical character of the verse. Moreover, we often find Latin words containing an unbroken succession of long syllables, *e.g.* *ēdicēbātur*. A strong stress accent is inconsistent with such conditions, as may be seen from the strongly stressed modern languages. *Cf.* Eng. *inévitabile* with Latin *inēvitābile*. While, therefore, stress always remained the essential characteristic of the Latin accentuation, yet the stress was relatively slight, and probably slighter in the historical period after the establishment of the 'Three Syllable Law,' than in the prehistoric period when the principle of initial accentuation prevailed. It seems a fair conclusion that the diminution in the intensity of the stress accent was due to the encroachments of the quantitative principle. Thus a long penult is seen to have developed a secondary stress which ultimately gained complete ascendancy and became the primary accent of the word.

4. Attention has been called in the Grammar, § 6, 4, to cases where, by the loss of a final vowel, the accent has come to stand upon the last syllable of certain words. Other instances of the same sort are *disturbāt* for *disturbāvit*; *mūnīt* for *mūntvit*. The principle is stated by Priscian (xv. 17-18). *Arpīnās*, *Samnīs*, *nostrās*, *Campāus*, *etc.*, are also cited by the grammarians as having an accent upon the last syllable, as though for *Arpīnātis*, *Samnītis*, *nostrātis*, *Campānus*, *etc.* See, for example, Priscian iv. 22. Such forms as *benefācit*, *satisfācit*, are properly written *bene facit*, *etc.*

5. Various Latin grammarians have seemed to support the theory of the existence of a musical accent in Latin, *e.g.* Nigidius Figulus (in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* xiii. 26. 1-3); *Audacis Excerpta* (Keil, vii. 357. 14 ff.); Priscian, *de Accentu*, 2. 5. These

writers recognize an acute ( ' ) and a circumflex ( ^ ), and lay down specific rules for their employment. According to them, the acute stood upon all short vowels as *núx*, *béne*, *véterem*, and upon a long vowel in the antepenult, as *régibus*. It also stood upon a long vowel of the penult in case the ultima was long, as *régēs*. If the ultima was short, a long penult took the circumflex, as *rége*. The circumflex also stood upon long vowels of monosyllabic words, as *flôs*. But it is more than probable that these rules are merely an echo of the principles of Greek accentuation, just as the rules given for syllable-division by certain Latin grammarians were probably merely a learned fiction in imitation of the Greek rules. See § 35.

## CHAPTER V.

### ORTHOGRAPHY.

See BRAMBACH, *Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie*, Leipzig, 1868, and the same author's *Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1884; GEORGES, *Lexikon der Lateinischen Wortformen*, Leipzig, 1890.

56. The orthography of Latin words naturally varied at different periods, and even within one and the same period there was not unfrequently considerable discrepancy between different writers. During the classical era relatively slight attention was paid to the study of the language, and as a result we notice the absence of any recognized standard of spelling such as prevails in modern languages. This lack of a recognized norm compels us to resort to other sources of information in order to determine the best spelling for a given era. Our manuscripts of the Latin writers unfortunately have been so altered in the course of transmission from the past, that they seldom furnish trustworthy evidence. A few of the oldest give valuable indications of the contemporary spelling; but more often the Mss. have been adapted to the standards of a later age, and are full of the errors and inconsistencies of the Decline. On the whole, carefully cut official inscriptions furnish the safest reliance. The testimony given by these is supplemented for the post-Augustan era by the statements of grammarians, who, beginning with the first century A.D., devoted much systematic attention to orthographic questions. Many points belonging here have already been anticipated in connection with the discussion of Pronunciation. The following special classes of words call for further consideration:



57. 1. Words of the type mentioned in *Gr.* § 9. 1; 4, viz. quom, volt, volnus, voltus, volgus; Nouns and Adjectives in -quos, -quom; -vos, -vom; -uos, -uom; and Verbs in -quont, -quontur; -vont, -vontur; -uont, -uontur. This was the original spelling and continued to be the regular orthography down to about the beginning of the Augustan Age. After that it was still retained, particularly in special words as an archaic reminiscence. But as a rule, beginning about the 8th century of the city (Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I. § 431; Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* § 46; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 299; Bersu, *Die Gutturalen*, p. 53 ff.), the following changes took place:

a) vol + a mute or a nasal became vul, e.g. *vultus*, *vulnus*. But proper names show a preference for the early form, e.g. *Volcānus*, *Volscī*, etc.

b) -vos, -vom, -vont, -vontur became -vus, -vum, -vunt, -vuntur, e.g. *saevus*, *saevum*, *solvunt*, *solvuntur*.

c) -uos, -uom, -uont, -uontur became -uus, -uum, -uunt, -uuntur, e.g. *perpetuus*, *perpetuum*, *acuunt*, *acuuntur*.

d) -quos, -quom, -quont, -quontur developed somewhat at variance with the foregoing classes. They first became -cus, -cum, -cunt, -cuntur, yielding, e.g., *ecus* (for *equos*); *cum* (for *quom*); *relin cunt* (for *relinquont*); *secuntur* (for *sequontur*).

2. This spelling established itself during the Augustan Age, and continued to be the standard orthography in words of this class until shortly after the close of the first century A.D.,<sup>1</sup> when -cus, -cum, -cunt, -cuntur became -quus, -quum, -quunt, -quuntur. This change was the result of analogy. Thus in a word like *ecus*, for example, the preponderance of forms containing *qu* (*equū*, *equō*, *equīs*, etc.) in time naturally produced the change from *ecus* to

<sup>1</sup> Examples are *ANTICVM*, CIL. vi. 615. 4 b); *COCVS*, CIL. vi. 8753 f.; 9264 f.; *PROPINCVS*, CIL. vi. 2408. 3; iii. 5274 a. 2. Cf. *Gr.* *ἵππων*, *ἵππος*, CIG. 6430. Manuscripts also preserve numerous traces of such spellings. For examples occurring in the Palatine codex of Vergil's *Aeneid*, see Bersu, p. 88, N.



*equus*; and from *ecum* to *equum*. Similarly, in the verb such forms as *relin cunt*, *secuntur* ultimately became *relinquunt*, *sequuntur*, owing to the influence of the forms containing *qu*, *relinquis*, *relinquit*, *relinquimus*; *sequitur*, *sequimur*, etc.

3. It is interesting to note that the conjunction **cum** remained unaffected by this tendency. Not forming part of a paradigm containing *qu*-forms, it remained intact. The form *quum*, though occasionally found still in texts, does not appear in Latin inscriptions or Mss. prior to the 6th century A.D. (Bersu, *Die Gutturalen*, p. 44, N.).

4. What has been said of forms in original -*quont*, -*quontur*, applies similarly to forms in original -(n)*guont*, -(n)*guontur*. Thus an *exstinguont* became first *exstinguunt*, then later (after analogy of the other forms of the same tense) *exstinguunt*; so *exstinguontur* developed through the medium of *exstinguuntur* to *exstinguuntur*.

## 58. ASSIMILATION OF THE FINAL CONSONANT OF PREPOSITIONS IN COMPOUNDS.

a) In compounds of **ad** the preposition appears,—

- 1) Before **c**, as **ac-**, e.g. *accipiō*.
- 2) Before **f**, as **ad-** or **af-**, e.g. *adfero* or *afferō*.
- 3) Before **g**, as **ad-** or **ag-**, as *adgredior* or *aggredior*.
- 4) Before **l**, as **ad-** or **al-**, as *adlātus* or *allātus*.
- 5) Before **n**, as **ad-** or **an-**, as *adnītor* or *annītor*.
- 6) Before **p**, as **ad-** or **ap-**, as *adportō* or *apportō*.
- 7) Before **r**, as **ad-** or **ar-**, e.g. *adrīdeō* or *arrīdeō*.
- 8) Before **s**, as **ad-** or **as-**, e.g. *adserō* or *asserō*.
- 9) Before **t**, as **at-**, e.g. *attineō*.
- 10) Before **q**, as **ad-** or **ac-**, e.g. *adquīrō* or *acquīrō*.

NOTE. — Yet in all the above instances, even when **ad-** is written, it is probable that **af-**, **ag-**, **al-**, **an-**, etc., were regularly spoken, i.e. the matter was a purely graphical one. A sense for the etymology and a desire to indi-

cate the actual component elements of the word prompted a spelling which, strictly speaking, was inexact.

- 11) Before **gn**, **sp**, **sc**, **st**, we find sometimes **a-**, sometimes **ad-**, *e.g.* *agnōscō*, *adgnōscō*; *aspīrō*, *adspīrō*. Here again the spelling *adgn-*, *adsp-*, *etc.*, is purely etymological, and does not indicate the actual utterance; the *d* disappeared in these consonant groups in accordance with the principle explained in § 105. 1.
  - 12) In all other cases **ad** was retained both in spelling and pronunciation.
- b) In compounds of **com-**, the preposition appears —
- 1) Before **b**, **p**, **m** as **com-**, *e.g.* *combibō*, *comportō*, *commoror*.
  - 2) Before **c**, **q**, **g**; **d**, **t**, **n**; **f**, **s**; **j**, **v**, as **con-**, *e.g.* *conciliō*, *conquirō*, *congerō*; *condō*, *conterō*, *connāscor*; *cōnferō*, *cōnserō*; *conjungō*, *convincō*.
  - 3) Before **l**, as **con-** or **col-**, *e.g.* *contātus* or *collātus*.
  - 4) Before **r**, as **con-** or **cor-**, *e.g.* *conruō* or *corruō*.

NOTE. — Before **l** and **r**, even though **con-** was written, **col-** and **cor-** were probably spoken. See note on **ad** above.

- 5) Before *gn* **con-** dropped its **n** (see § 105. 1), *e.g.* *cognōscō*.
- 6) The origin of **cō-** in *cōnītor*, *cōnīveō*, *cōnūbium*, *etc.*, and of **cō-** in *cōāctus*, *cō-addō*, *etc.*, is uncertain. Some regard *cō-* as a different word here.

c) The Preposition **ex** (= **ecs**) before **f** lost the **c** (§ 105. 1) and then assimilated **s** to **f**, *e.g.* *effērō*, for *e(c)sferō* (*cf.* *differō* for *\*disferō*). Another form sometimes arises by the loss of the **s**, *e.g.* *ecferō*, *ecfātus*, *etc.* This orthography is found mainly in the archaic period.

d) The Preposition **in** appears, —

- 1) Before **l** as **in-** or **il-**, *e.g.* *inlātus* or *illātus*.
- 2) Before **r** as **in-** or **ir-**, *e.g.* *inrumpō* or *irrupō*.

- 3) Before **m**, **p**, and **b** as **in-** or **im-**, e.g. *imbibō* or *inbibō*; *importō* or *inportō*; *immortālis* or *inmortālis*.

NOTE.—Yet in all these cases even when **n** was written, it is probable that assimilation occurred in the actual speech. See above, under **ad**, note.

- 4) In all other cases **in-** was both written and pronounced.

e) The Preposition **ob**

- 1) Is regularly assimilated to **oc-**, **of-**, **og-**, **op-** before **c**, **f**, **g**, and **p** respectively, e.g. *occurrō*, *offendō*, *oggerō*, *oppōnō*.  
 2) Elsewhere the **b** is regularly retained in writing and in pronunciation, except that before **s** and **t**, **b** had the sound of **p**. See § 27. Our Mss. of Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius often have **op-** in this situation; but Quintilian (i. 7. 7) assures us that for his time good usage demanded **ob**.

f) The Preposition **per** sometimes appears as **pel** before **l**, e.g. *pelliciō*. Elsewhere **r** is retained; *pējerō* does not contain the preposition **per**.

g) The Preposition **sub**

- 1) Is regularly changed to **suc-**, **suf-**, **sug-**, **sup-** before **c**, **f**, **g**, and **p** respectively, e.g. *succurrō*, *suffectus*, *suggestus*, *supplex*.  
 2) Before **m** appears as **sub-** or **sum-**.

NOTE.—Yet **summ-** was probably merely the etymological spelling for **summ-**. See note, under **ad**, above.

h) The Preposition **trāns**

- 1) Is regularly retained before vowels and **b**, **c**, **f**, **g**, **p**, **r**, **t**, **v**, e.g. *trānscō*, *trānsferō*, *trānsportō*, *trānsversus*.  
 2) Becomes **tran-**, often before **s**, and always before **sc-**, e.g. *trān-serō*, *trān-scribō*.  
 3) Becomes **trā-** before **j**, **d**, **l**, **m**, **n** (§ 105. 2), e.g. *trāiciō*, *trādūcō*, *trānō*. Yet before these sounds **trāns-** is often restored by re-composition (§ 87. 3).

59. Seelmann (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 61 f.) thinks that such spellings as *adr-*, *ads-*, *inl-*, *inr-* in the prepositional compounds above considered, indicated the actual pronunciation. This pronunciation, however, he considers to have been a faulty one, emanating from half-educated persons striving for special correctness. Terentius Scaurus, Priscian, and *Appendix Probi* all expressly declare the etymological spelling to be incorrect in the type of words under discussion.

On the whole, there seems very little to commend the employment of the etymological spelling. If we take it as intended to indicate pronunciation, we can hardly reject the express statements of the grammarians that such pronunciation was wrong. If, on the other hand, we regard the etymological spelling as purely graphical, there seems no advantage in writing *adl*, *adg*, *inr*, *inl*, *etc.*, where *all*, *agg*, *irr*, *ill* were actually spoken, especially since the Romans themselves often indicated the assimilation. For the purposes of elementary instruction in particular, the assimilated forms are decidedly to be preferred as a uniform spelling.

60. Compounds of *jacio*. As indicated in *Gr.* § 9. 3, these are better written *iniciō*, *adiciō*, *etc.* That a *j* was pronounced after the preposition, is made probable by the fact that the first syllable of these words is used as long in verse. Possibly the analogy of *ēiciō*, *dēiciō*, *rēiciō* (where a *j* would naturally be pronounced, even if not written) led to the omission of *j* in other compounds also.

61. LIST OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORDS OF DOUBTFUL OR  
VARIED SPELLING.<sup>1</sup>

*abiciō* : better than *abjiciō* ; § 60.  
*ad* in composition : § 58.  
*adiciō* : better than *adjiciō* ; § 60.  
*adolēscēns* : see *adulēscēns*.  
*Adria* : see *Hadria*.  
*adulēscēns* : Brambach (*Neugestaltung*, p. 52) restricts this spelling to the noun, 'young man,' and for the participle of *adolēscō* writes *adolēscēns*.  
*adulēscēntia*, *adulēscēntulus* : like *adulēscēns*.  
*Aeduī* : preferable to *Haeduī*, acc. to Brambach (*Hilfsbüchlein*, p. 22).  
*aēneus*, *aēnus* : better than *ahēneus*, *ahēnus*.  
*agnōscō* and *adgnōscō* : § 58, a).  
*Alexandrēa* : this is the correct form for the Ciceronian period. Later *Alexandria* is found.  
*aliōquī* and *aliōquīn*.  
*allium* and *ālium* : § 88. 1.  
*allec* : not *ālec*.  
*ancora* : not *anchora* ; § 31. 3.  
*antemna* : also *antenna*.  
*Antiochēa*, *Antiochiā* : like *Alexandriā*, *Alexandriā*.  
*ānulus* : not *annulus*.  
*Āpennīnus* and *Appennīnus*.  
*Āpulēius* and *Appulēius* : cf. § 88. 1.  
*Āpulia*, *Āpulus*.  
*arbor* : *arbōs* is archaic and poetic.  
*arcessō* : in early Latin also *accersō*.  
*Arēopagīta* and *Ariopagīta*.

*Arēus pagus* and *Arius pagus*.  
*artus*, *artāre* : not *arctus*, *arclāre*.  
*arundō* : not *harundō*.  
*auctor* : not *autor*.  
*auctōritās* : not *autōritās*.  
*aurichalcum* : better than *ōrichalcum*.  
*autumnus* : not *auctumnus*.

## B.

*bāca* : not *bacca*.  
*balbūtīō* : not *balbuttiō*.  
*ballista* and *balista*.  
*balneum*, *balneae* : *balineum* occurs in early Latin.  
*bēlua* : not *bellua*.  
*beneficiū* : preferable to *beneficium*.  
*beneficus* : preferable to *benificus*.  
*benevolentia* : preferable to *benivolentia*.  
*benevolus* : preferable to *benivulus*.  
*bibliothēca* : *hybliothēca* also occurs.  
*bipartītus* and *bipertītus* : § 87. 1.  
*Bosphorus* : § 31. 3 fin.  
*bracchium* : also *brāchium*.  
*Britannia*, etc. : better than *Britt*.  
*Brundisium* : not *Brundusium*.

## C.

*caecus* : not *coecus* ; § 11.  
*caelebs* : not *coelebs* ; § 11.  
*caelum* and derivatives have *ae*, not *coel*- ; § 11.  
*caementum* : not *cēmentum* ; § 10. 2.  
*caenum* : not *coenum* ; § 11.

<sup>1</sup> The standard followed in this list is the usage of the early Empire, —roughly speaking, the first century A.D. The correct form is given first. Words belonging to the classes treated in §§ 57–60 are, for the most part, omitted from the list.

*caerimōnia* and *caeremōnia* : not *cēri-*  
*mōnia* ; § 10. 2.

*caespēs* : not *cespēs* ; § 10. 2.

*caestus* : not *cestus* ; § 10. 2.

*caetra* : not *cētra* ; § 10. 2.

*Camēna* : not *Camoena* ; § 11.

*causa* : *caussa* was the pre-Augustan  
form ; § 98. 2.

*cēna* : not *coena* ; § 11.

*Cereālis* and *Ceriālis* ; *Ceriālia*.

*cēterī* : not *caeterī* ; § 10. 2.

*Cethēgus* : *Celēgus* is pre-Ciceronian ;  
§ 31. 3.

*circumēō* and *circueō*.

*claudō* : *clūdō* is rare and the result  
of 'De-composition' ; see § 87. 2.

*clipeus* : better than *clupeus*, the early  
spelling ; § 6. 2.

*Clytēmēstra* : not *Clytemnēstra*.

*coctea* and *cochlea* ; § 31. 3.

*com-* in composition : § 58, *b*).

*cōmissārī* and *cōmisārī*.

*comminus* : not *cōminus*.

*comprehendō* : better than *comprēndō*.

*con-* in compounds : § 58, *b*).

*condiciō* (*con* and root *dic-*) : not *con-*  
*ditiō*.

*cōnectō* and derivatives : not *connectō*,  
*etc.*

*coniciō* : better than *conjiciō* ; § 60.

A form *coiciō* also occurs.

*cōnītor* : not *connītor*.

*cōnīvēō* : not *connīvēō*.

*conjūnx* : better than *conjux*.

*cōntiō* (for *coventiō*) : not *cōnciō* ;  
§ 25. 3.

*cōnūbium* : not *connūbium*.

*conviciū* : not *convitium* ; § 25. 3.

*collidīe* and *colidīe* : not *quolidīe*.

*cothurnus* and *coturnus* : § 31. 3.

*culleus*, *culleum* : not *cūleus*, *cūleum* ;  
§ 88. 1.

*cum* : never *quum* ; see § 57. 3.

*cumba* : also *cymba*.

*cupressus* : not *cypressus*.

*cūr* : *quor* is ante-classical.

## D.

*damma* : not *dāma* ; § 88. 1.

*Dānuvius* : not *Dānubius*. Cf. § 16. 2.

*Dārēus* : better than the later form  
*Dārīus*.

*Decelēa* : better than the later form  
*Decelīa*.

*dēfatīgō*, *dēfatīgātīō* : also *dēfet-* ; see  
§ 87. 1.

*dēiciō* : better than *dējiciō* ; see § 60.

*dēlēctus*, 'choosing' ; also *dīlēctus*.

*dēlēniō* : better than *dēlīniō* ; cf. § 90.

*dēprehendō* : also the contracted form  
*dēprēndō*.

*dērigō* : also *dīrigō*, which is probably  
the original form. Brambach, how-  
ever, recognizes two independent  
verbs : *dērigō*, 'to move in a particu-  
lar direction,' and *dīrigō*, 'to move  
in different directions.'

*dēirectō* : also *dētractō* ; § 87. 1.

*dexter*, *dextera*, *dexterum* : also *dextra*,  
*dextera* ; but regularly *dextera*  
when used as a substantive.

*diciō* : not *ditiō* ; § 25. 3.

*dīnōscō* : earlier *dignōscō*.

*disiciō* : better than *disjiciō* ; § 60.

*Duīlius* or *Duīllius*.

*dumtaxat* : not *duntaxat* ; § 87. 1.

*dipondius* : earlier *dupondius* ; § 6. 2.

## E.

*eculus* : cf. § 57. *d*).

*ēiciō* : better than *ējiciō* ; § 60.

*elleborus* : better than *helleborus*.

*ēemptus*, *ēemptiō*, *ēemptor* : not *ēmtus*, *etc.*

*epistula* : better than *epistola*.

*Erīnys* : not *Erinnys*.

*erus*, *era*, *erīlis* : not *herus*, *etc.* ; § 23.

*Ēsquiliae, Ēsquīlinus*: not *Exsquiliae*, etc.

*Euander*: not *Evander*.

*exedra* and *exhedra*.

*existimātiō, exīstimō*: *exīstumātiō, exīstumō* are the early spelling; § 6. 2.  
*exsanguis, exscindō, exscrībō, exsilium, expectō*, and other compounds of *ex* with words having initial *s*: better than *exanguis, excindō, expectō*, etc.

## F.

*faenerātor, faenerō*: not *fēnerātor*, etc.; § 10. 2.

*faenum*: not *fēnum*, nor *foenum*; § 11.

*faenus*: see *faenerātor*.

*fēcundus*, etc.: not *foecundus*, etc., § 11.

*fēmina*: not *foemina*; § 11.

*fētidus*, etc.: not *foetidus*, etc., § 11.

*fētus*: not *foetus*; § 11.

*finitimus*: earlier *-umus*; § 6. 2.

*forēnsia* and *forēsia*: § 20. 2.

*futtilis*: better than *fūtilis*; § 88. 1.

## G.

*gaesum*: not *gēsūm*; § 10. 2.

*garrulus*: not *gārulus*.

*Genēva*: acc. to Gröber in Wölflin's *Archiv*, ii. 437.

*genetivus*: not *genitīvus*.

*genetrīx*: not *genitrix*.

*glæba* and *glēba*.

*gnārus*: also *nārus* in Cicero's time.

*gnātus, gnāta*: this is the early form, used also in poetry; later *nātus, nāta*.

*grāūs* and *grātīūs*. The latter form is archaic.

## H.

*Hadria*, etc.: not *Adria*, etc.; § 23.

*Halicarnāsus*.

*hallūcinor* and *hālūcinor*; cf. § 88. 1; also *āl-*, *all-*; § 23.

*Hammon*: better than *Ammōn*; § 23.

*harēna*: better than *arēna*; § 23.

*hariola*; also *ariola*; § 23.

*haruspex*: better than *aruspex*; § 23.

*haud*: sometimes *haut*; § 28.

*haveō* and *avēō*; § 23.

*hedera*: better than *edera*; § 23.

*helluō, helluātiō*: better than *hēluō*, etc.

*Henna*: better than *Enna*; § 23.

*Heraclēa*: later *Heraclia*.

*herāscō* and *erāscō*: § 23.

*heri*: also *here* (a different formation).

*Hiber, Hibērēs*, etc.: not *Iber*, etc.: § 23.

*hiems*: not *hiemps*.

*Hilōtae*: not *Hēlōtae*.

*Hister*: better than *Ister*; § 23.

*holitor, holiōrium*: see *holus*.

*holus*: better than *olus*; § 23.

## I.

*imb-* in compounds: § 58. d) 3).

*imm-* in compounds: § 58. d) 3).

*immō*: not *īmō*.

*imp-* in compounds: § 58. d) 3).

*inclitus* and *inclutus*: not *inclytus*.

*incohō* and *inchoō*.

*ingrātīs* and *ingrātīs*.

*iniciō*: better than *injiciō*; § 60.

*inl-* in compounds: § 58. d) 1).

*in primīs, inprimīs, imprimīs*: § 58. d) 3).

*inr-* in compounds: § 58. d) 2).

*intelligentiā, intellegō*: see § 87. 1.

*intimus*: earlier *intumus*; § 6. 2.

## J.

*jūcundus*: not *jōcundus*.

*Jūdaea*: not *Jūdēa*; § 10. 2.

*jūniperus*: not *jūnīpirus*.

*Jūpiter*: better than *Jūpiter*; § 88. 1.



## K.

*Kaesō* and *Caesō*.

*Kalendae*: better than *Calendae*.

*kalumniā*: in legal expressions for *calumniā*.

*Karthāgō* and *Carthāgō*.

## L.

*lacrima*: earlier *lacruma* (archaic *dacruma*); § 6. 2; not *lachrima* nor *lachryma*; § 31. 3.

*lagoena*: not *lagēna*; § 11.

*lāmīna* and *lammīna*, also syncopated *lāmna*.

*lanterna*: better than *laterna*.

*Lārentia* (in *Acca L.*): not *Laurentia*.

*lautus*: better than *lōtus*.

*lēgitimus*: earlier *lēgitumus*; § 6. 2.

*libet*, *libēns*, *libīdō*: earlier *lubet*, etc.; § 6. 2.

*līs*: but *stlīs* in the legal phrase *stlītibus jūdīcandīs*; § 104. 1. b).

*littera*: better than *lītera*; § 88. 1.

*lītus*: rather than *littus*.

*loquēla*: not *loquella*.

## M.

*maereō*, *maestus*, etc.; not *moereō*, etc.; § 11.

*Māja*: § 15. 3.

*malevolentia*: better than *malivolentia*.

*malevolus*: better than *malivolus*.

*mancipium*: earlier *mancupium*; § 6. 2.

*manifestus*: earlier *manufestus*; § 6. 2.

*manipretium*: earlier *manupretium*; § 6. 2.

*maritimus*: earlier *maritumus*; § 6. 2.

*Mauretānia*: also *Mauritānia*.

*māximus*: earlier *māxumus*; § 6. 2.

*Megalēnsia* and *Megalēsia*; § 20. 2.

*mercēnnarius*: not *mercēnārius*.

*Messalla*: better than *Messāla*; § 88. 1.

*mīlle*: plural *mīllia* and *mīlia*.

*minimus*: earlier *minumus*; § 6. 2.

*monumentum* and *monimentum*; § 6. 2.

*muccus*: earlier *mūcus*; § 88. 1.

*multa*: not *mulcta*.

*multō*: see *multa*.

*mūraena*: not *mūrēna*; § 10. 2.

*murra* and *myrrha*.

## N.

*nāvus*: earlier *gnāvus*.

*nē*, 'verily': not *nae*; § 10. 2.

*neglēgō*, *neglēgentia*: § 87. 1.

*negōtium*, *negōtiātor*: not *negōcium*, etc.; § 25. 3.

*nēnia*: not *naenia*; § 10. 2.

*nēquicquam* and *nēquūquam*.

*novīcius*: not *novītius*; § 25. 3.

*nunquam* and *numquam*.

*nūntiō*, *nūntius*: not *nūnciō*, etc.; § 25. 3.

## O.

*obicīō*: better than *objicīō*; § 60.

*oboediō*: not *obēdiō*; § 11.

*obsēnus*: better than *obscaenus*; not *obsoenus*; § 10. 2; 11.

*obs-* in compounds: not *ops-*; § 58. e) 2).

*obsōnium*: also *opsōnium* (ὀψώνιον).

*obsōnāre*: see *obsōnium*.

*obstipēscō*: earlier *obstupēscō*; § 6. 2.

*obtemperō*, *obtinēō*, *obtulī*: not *opt-*; § 58. e) 2).

*ōpiliō*: better than *ūpiliō*.

*opp-* in compounds; § 58. e) 1).

*optimus*: earlier *optumus*; § 6. 2.

*Orcus*: not *Orchus*; § 31. 3.

## P.

*paelex*: not *pellelex*; § 10. 2.

*Paelignī*: not *Pēlignī*; § 10. 2.

*paenitet*: not *poenitet*; § 11.

*paenula*: not *pēnula*; § 10. 2.



*Parnāsus*: not *Parnassus*.

*parricida*, etc.: earlier *pāricida*;

§ SS. 1.

*Paullus* and *Paulus*.

*paulus*: preferable to *paullus*.

*pedetentim* and *pedetemptim*.

*pedisequus*: not *pedisequus*.

*pējērō*: not *pējūrō*; *pējūrō* is a different word.

*pērcuntor*, etc.: better than *pērcuntor*, etc.

*pējūrus* and *pējūrus*.

*pessimus*: earlier *pessimus*; § 6. 2.

*pilleus*, etc.: not *pīleus*, etc.; § SS. 1.

*plaustrum*: not *pīostrum*.

*pīēs*: not *pīēs*; § (S. e) 2).

*Polhō*: better than *Pōhō*.

*pōmērīum*: not *pōmoerīum*.

*Pompīnus*: not *Pontīnus*.

*pontifex*: earlier *fontufex*; § 6. 2.

*Porsenna* and *Porsena*; also *Persinna* and *Porsina*.

*přehendō* and *přendō*.

*přelum*: not *přaelum*; § 10. 2.

*přelium*: not *přaelium*; § 11.

*přōiciō*: better than *přēficiō*; § 60.

*přēmunturium*: better than *přōmonturium*.

*přoscaenium*: not *přocēnium*; § 10. 2.

*přoximus*: earlier *přoximus*; § 6. 2.

*Pūblicola*: on the early forms *Poplicola*, *Puplicola*, see *pūbicus*.

*pūbicus* (from *pūbēs*): *poplicus* (early Latin) is from *poplus* = *populus*;

*puplicus* is the result of the contamination of *pūbicus* and *poplicus*.

*pulcher*: early Latin *pulcer*; § 31. 3.

## Q.

*quamquam* and *quanguam*.

*quattuor*: better than *quatuer*.

*querēla*: better than *querella*.

*quicumque*: better than *quicunque*.

*quicquam* and *quidquam*.

*quicquid* and *quidquid*.

*Quinctus*, *Quāctius*, *Quīctilis*,

*Quīctilius*: these are the forms for the Republican period; under the Empire *Quintus*, *Quīntilis*, etc.

*quam*: § 57.

*quor*: see *cūr*.

*quotiens* and *qustīs*.

## R.

*raeda*: better than *rēda*; not *rā*;

§ 10. 2.

*Raetia*, *Raetī*: not *Rhaetia*, etc.

*recidī* (Perf. of *recidō*): not *recidī*.

*reciperō*: earlier *recuperō*; § 6. 2.

*Rēgium*: not *Rhēgium*.

*rēciō*: better than *rējiciō*; § 60.

*religiō*: not *relligiō*.

*reliquiae*: not *relliquiae*.

*reliquus*: early Latin *relicuos*; § 57.

*repperī* (Perf. of *reperiō*): not *reperi*.

*reppuī* (Perf. of *repellō*): not *repuī*.

*reprehendō* or *reprehendō*.

*rēs pūblica*: not *rēspūblica*.

*retuī* (Perf. of *referō*): not *retuī*.

*rotundus*: in Lucretius sometimes *rutundus*; § 90.

## S.

*saeculum*: not *sēculum*; § 10. 2.

*saepēs*: not *sēpēs*; § 10. 2.

*saepiō*: see *saepēs*.

*saeta*: not *sēta*; § 10. 2.

*Sallustius*: not *Sālustius*.

*sārīō*: better than *sarriō*.

*satura*: also later *satira*; not *satyra*.

*scena*: not *sēna*; § 10. 2.

*sepulcrum*: not *sepulchrum*; cf.

§ 31. 3.

*sexcentī*: rather than *sexcentī*.

*sētiūs*: less correctly *sēcūs*.

*singulātīm*: not *singulātīm*.

*sōlācium* : not *sōlātium* ; § 25. 3.  
*sollemnis* : not *sollemnis*.  
*sollicitō*, etc. : not *sōlicitō*.  
*stellio* : not *stēlio* ; § 88. 1.  
*stillicidium* : not *stīlicidium*.  
*stilus* : not *stylus*.  
*stuppa*, etc. : not *stūpa*, etc. ; § 88. 1.  
*suādēla* : not *suādella*.  
*subiciō* : better than *subjiciō* ; § 60.  
*subm-* in compounds : § 58. g) 2).  
*subolēs* : rather than *sobolēs* ; § 90.  
*subtēmen* : rather than *subtegmen*.  
*subter*, *subtilis* : § 58. e) 2).  
*succ-* in compounds : § 58. g) 1).  
*succus* : rather than *sūcus* ; § 88. 1.  
*Suēbī* : not *Suēvī* ; § 16. 2.  
*suff-* in compounds : § 58. g) 1).  
*sulphur* and *sulphur* : not *sulfur* ; § 31. 4.  
*supp-* in compounds : § 58. g) 1).  
*suscēseō* : rather than *succēseō*.  
*suspiciō* : not *suspitiō* ; § 20. 3.  
*Syrācūsīus* : also *Syrācosius*.  
*Syria* : earlier *Suria* ; § 1. 5.

## T.

*taeter* : not *tēter* ; § 10. 2.  
*tanquam* and *tamquam*.  
*Tarracīna* : not *Terracīna*.  
*temperī* (Adv.) : not *temporī*.  
*tentāre* and *temptāre*.  
*Thalīa* : *Thalēa* is pre-Augustan.  
*thēsaurus* : *thēnsaurus* is archaic.  
*Thrāx* and *Thraex* (Θραξ).  
*tingō* : also *tinguō*.  
*totiēns* : also *totiēs*.  
*trājectus* : not *trānsjectus* ; § 58. h) 3).  
*trāns-* in composition : § 58. h).  
*trānsiciō* and *trāiciō* : better than  
*trānsjiciō*, *trājiciō* ; § 60.  
*trānsnāre* and *trānāre* : § 58. h).  
*Trēverī* : rather than *Trēvirī*.  
*tribūnīcius* not *tribūnitiūs* : § 25. 3.  
*tripartītus* and *trīperlītus* : § 87. 1.

*triumphō*, *triumphus* : not *triumpō*, etc.  
*tropaeum* and *trophaeum*.  
*tūs* : rather than *thūs*.  
*tūtēla* : better than *tūtella*.

## U.

*ubicumque* : better than *ubicunque*.  
*Ulixēs* : not *Ulyssēs*.  
*umerus* : better than *humerus* ; § 23.  
*ūmidus*, *ūmor*, etc. : not *hūmidus*, etc. ;  
§ 23.  
*unguō* and *ungō*.  
*unquam* and *umquam*.  
*urbs* : not *urps* ; cf. § 58. e) 2).  
*urgeō* : not *urgueō*.  
*utcumque* : better than *utcunque*.  
*utrimque* : not *utrinque*.

## V.

*valētūdō* : not *valitūdō*.  
*vehēmēns* : in poetry often *vēmēns*.  
*Vergiliae*, *Vergilius*, *Verginius* : not  
*Virg-*.  
*versus* (*versum*) : early Latin *vors-*.  
*vertex* : early Latin *vortex*.  
*vertō* : early Latin *vortō*.  
*vester* : early Latin *voster*.  
*vīcēsīmus* : commoner than *vīgēsīmus*.  
*victima* : earlier *victuma* ; § 6. 2.  
*vīlicus* : not *vīllicus*.  
*vinculum* and *vinclum* ; § 91.  
*vinolentus* and *vīnulentus*.  
*Volcānus* : § 57. a).  
*Volscī* : § 57. a).  
*Volsiniēnsis* : § 57. a).  
*Voltūrnus* : § 57. a).  
*Vortumnus* : under the Empire also  
*Vertumnus* ; cf. *vertō*.  
*vulgus* : earlier *volgus* ; § 57. a).  
*vulnus* : earlier *volnus* ; § 57. a).  
*vulpēs* : earlier *volpēs* ; § 57. a).  
*vultur* : earlier *voltur* ; § 57. a).  
*vultus* : earlier *voltus* ; § 57. a).

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE LATIN SOUNDS.

#### THE VOWELS.<sup>1</sup>

##### ABLAUT.

62. The Indo-European parent-speech, from which the Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Avestan, Slavic, Teutonic, Keltic, Armenian, and Albanian languages are descended, had a vowel system of considerable regularity. By variation of the root vowel, each monosyllabic root was regularly capable of appearing in three different forms. Thus the Indo-European root *gen-*, 'bring forth,' had also a form *gon-*, and another form *gn-*. The different phases in which a root appears are designated as 'grades'; while the general phenomenon of variation is called Ablaut or Vowel Gradation. The different phases of a root taken together form an 'ablaut-series.' Six such ablaut-series have been shown to have belonged to the Indo-European parent-speech. Of the three grades belonging to each series two are characterized by a fuller vocalism than the third; these fuller phases of the root are called 'strong' grades; the third by contrast is called the 'weak' grade. Thus *gen-* and *gon-*, cited above, represent the strong grades; *gn-*, which has been weakened by the loss of the *e*, is the weak grade. The first of the two strong grades gives its name to the series in which it occurs. There are six Indo-European ablaut-series:

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<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, §§ 28-319; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. iv.; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 7-41; *Lateinische Lautlehre*, pp. 112-229.

SERIES.	WEAK GRADE.	STRONG GRADES.
ā-Series :	{ $\text{ə}^1$ e.g. <i>bhā-</i>	{ $\text{ā}$ $\text{ō}$ e.g. <i>bhā-</i> <i>bhō-</i>
ē-Series :	{ $\text{ē}$ e.g. <i>dhā-</i>	{ $\text{ē}$ $\text{ō}$ e.g. <i>dhē-</i> <i>dhō-</i>
ō-Series :	{ $\text{ə}$ e.g. <i>pā-</i>	{ $\text{ō}$ $\text{ō}$ e.g. <i>pō-</i> <i>pō-</i>
ǣ-Series :	{ Vowel vanishes e.g. <i>g-</i>	{ $\text{ǣ}$ $\text{ā, ǫ}$ e.g. <i>ǣg-</i> <i>āg-</i>
ě-Series :	{ Vowel vanishes e.g. <i>pt-</i> <i>dyk-</i>	{ $\text{ě}$ $\text{ō}$ e.g. <i>pet-</i> <i>pot-</i> <i>derk-</i> <i>dork-</i>
ǫ-Series :	{ Vowel vanishes e.g. —	{ $\text{ǫ}$ $\text{ō}$ e.g. <i>ǫd-</i> <i>ōd-</i>

63. The origin of this variation in the form of roots is attributed with great probability to accentual conditions prevailing in the parent-speech. Some uncertainty still prevails concerning details in the various series ; but for practical purposes the above scheme is sufficiently accurate (see Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 307 ff. ; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 253 ff. ; Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*, § 15 ff. ; *Lateinische Lautlehre*, p. 157 ; Johnson's *Cyclopaedia*, Article *Ablaut*). Of the different Indo-European languages some have preserved the Indo-European Ablaut with great fidelity ; this is notably the case with Greek and Teutonic. In other languages the Ablaut has become much obscured ; Latin belongs to the latter class. Most Latin roots appear in only a single grade, the other two grades having disappeared in the course of the development of the language. Yet some examples of the original gradation are preserved. These will be considered according to the different ablaut-series in which they occur.

#### Ē-SERIES.

64. The ě-series is by far the best represented of any in Latin ; it embraces three sub-types.

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{ə}$  represents an obscure short vowel, which developed variously in the different Indo-European languages, — as  $\text{ā}$ ,  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ī}$ ,  $\text{ō}$ .

a) The *ě* or *ǝ* is followed by some consonant which is not a nasal or a liquid, e.g. root *dc-*, *dec-*, *doc-*, seen in *discō* (for \**di-dc-scō*); *dec-et*; *doc-eō*; root *sd-*, *sed-*, *sod-*, seen in *sīdō* (for \**si-sd-ō*); *sed-eō*; *sol-ium* (for \**sod-ium*; see § 95. 2). The root *es-* ('to be') has only the weak grade and one of the strong grades. The weak grade is seen in *s-im*; *s-unt*, etc.; the strong grade in *es-t*; *es-se*, etc.

b) The *ě* or *ǝ* is followed by a liquid or nasal. By the loss of the *e* in the weak grade the liquid or nasal often becomes vocalic, developing according to the principles explained in §§ 100, 102. Thus from the Indo-European root *gn-*, *gen-*, *gon-*, the Latin has *gnātus* (for *gñ-tus*; see § 102. 2), and *gen-us*; no form with *gon-* has been preserved; *gi-gn-ō*, however, shows us another form of the weak grade. From the root *mn-*, *men-*, *mon-*, the Latin has *mēns* (for \**mn-t(i)s*) and *mon-eō*.

c) The *e* or *o* of the strong grades was originally followed by *i* or *u*; in the weak grade the *e*, as usual, disappeared, leaving *i* or *u*. Thus originally:

<i>i</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>oi</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ou</i>

But of these diphthongs, *ei* became *ī*, while the others became *ū*, except that *oi* (*oe*) has been retained in a few words. Examples: root *fid-*, *feid-*, *foid-*, seen in *fīd-ēs*; *fīdō* (for *feid-ō*); *foed-us* (earlier *foid-us*); root *duc-*, *deuc-*, *douc-*, seen in *dūc-em*, *dūcō* (for earlier \**deuc-ō*).

Further examples of Ablaut in the *ě*-series are given in Stolz, *Lat. Grammatik*, p. 263 f.; *Lat. Lautlehre*, p. 157 ff.; Lindsay, *Lat. Language*, p. 255.

#### *ě*-SERIES.

65. No root shows all three grades in Latin; *a*, the obscure vowel, develops variously as *ǎ*, *ǐ*, *ě*. The root *dhə-*, *dhē-*, *dhō-*, 'place,' 'put,' shows the weak grade in *con-dī-tus*, etc., and one of the strong grades in *sacer-dō-s*; *fānum* (for \**fās-num*) shows

the weak grade; *fēs-tus* the corresponding strong grade. Cf. also *ră-tus*, *rē-rī*; *să-tus*, *sē-men*.

*ā*-SERIES.

66. The obscure vowel *a* develops as *ǣ*. The weak grade is seen in *fa-teor*; the corresponding strong grade in *fā-rī*, *fāma*. Cf. also *stǣ-tus*; *stā-men*, *Stātor*; *rād-ere* and *rōd-ere* exhibit the two strong grades.

*ō*-SERIES.

67. The obscure vowel *a* appears as *ǣ*. The weak grade is seen in *dǣ-mus*, *dǣ-tus*; the corresponding strong grade in *dōnum*, *dōs*. Cf. also *cǣt-us*, *cōs* (for *\*cōts*).

*ǣ*-SERIES.

68. One form of the strong grade is seen in *ǣg-ō*, the other in *ambāgēs*. The *a* may combine with *i* to produce the diphthong *ai*. An instance of this is seen in *aes-tus* (for *\*aid-tus*), 'burning heat'; the weak grade of the same root is seen, *īd-ūs*, originally an adjective: 'burning,' 'bright,' with *noctēs* understood, i.e. 'the bright nights' when the moon was full, and so the 15th of the month, 'the Ides.'

*ō*-SERIES.

69. Examples of this scantily represented ablaut-series are *fōd-ere*, *fōd-ī*, — both strong grade. Cf. also *ōd-ium*, *ōdī*; *nōs-ter*, *nōs*.

70. Vowel gradation appears not only in roots, but also in **suffixes** and in **case-endings**. Thus in nouns of the second declension the suffix varies between *e* and *o*, the two strong grades of the *ē*-series. The suffix *e* is seen in the vocative *hort-e*, and originally existed in the genitive *hortī*, which is for *\*hort-e-i*; see § 126. The other cases originally had the suffix *o*, e.g. *hortus*, *hortum*, for a primitive *hort-o-s*, *hort-o-m*. Cf. also nouns of the type of *genus*, *generis*, originally *\*gen-os*, *\*gen-es-is*, where again the suffixes *-es-*, *-os* show us the two strong grades of the *ē*-series.

In **case-endings** we have an interesting illustration of vowel variation in the genitive ending, which appears both as *-ēs* and *-ōs*; e.g. *ped-is* (for *\*ped-ēs*), *senatu-ōs* (early Latin).

## VOWEL CHANGES.

## ǣ.

**71.** *ǣ* in syllables which were accented at the time of the early Latin accentuation (see § 55) remains unchanged; in syllables which were unaccented at that period, *ǣ* develops as follows:

1. Before two consonants, before *r*, and in final syllables, *ǣ* regularly becomes *ě*, e.g. *acceptus* for *\*accaptus*; *particeps* for *\*párticaps*; *cōnfectus* for *\*cónfactus*; *impertiō* for *\*ímpartiō*; *reddere* for *\*reddare*; *pede*, *mīlite*, etc. (so-called Ablative, really Instrumental Singular) for *\*peda*, *\*mīlita*, etc.

2. Before a single consonant in the interior of a word, *ǣ* becomes *ĩ*, e.g. *adigō* for *\*adagō*; *concinō* for *\*concanō*; *ĩnsitus* for *\*ĩnsatus*; *redditus* for *\*reddatus*.

3. Before *l* + a consonant (but not before *ll*), *ǣ* becomes *ũ*, e.g. *exsultō* for *\*ěxsaltō*; *inculcō* for *\*ĩncalcō*.

4. Before labials, *ǣ* becomes the sound which was represented by *u* in the earlier period, and later by *i* (see § 6. 2), e.g. *mancupium*, later *mancipium*, for *\*māncapium*.

5. Before *ng*, *ǣ* becomes *ĩ* (through the medium of *ě*), e.g. *attingō* for *\*áttangō*.

## ā.

**72.** *ā* regularly remains unchanged in Latin in all situations, e.g. *māter*; *contrāctus* for *\*cóntrāctus*.

## ě.

**73.** 1. *ě* is retained in Latin:

a) Before *r*, e.g. *ferō*, *cōnferō*, *sceleris*.

b) When final, e.g. *horte*, *age*, *agite*.

c) Usually before two consonants, e.g. *scelestus*, *obsessus*, *aspex*.



2. *ĕ* becomes *ĭ*:

a) Before a single consonant in syllables which were unaccented by the early accentuation (§ 55), e.g. *colligō* for \**collegō*; *militis* for \**mīlētēs*; *obsideō* for \**ōbsedeō*; *prōtinus* for \**prōtenus*.

b) Sometimes before *n* or *m* + a consonant, e.g. *simplex* for \**sem-plex* (from *sem-*, 'one'), *vīgintī* for \**vīgēntī*; *tinguō* for \**tenguō*; *quīnque* for \**quenque* (earlier \**penque*).

3. *ĕ* becomes *ō* before *v*, e.g. *novos* for an original \**nevos* (Gr. *νέφος*).

*ē*.

74. *ē* is regularly retained in Latin in all situations, e.g. *rēctus*, *corrēctus*, *corrēxī*, *diē*.

*ī, ī*.

75. *ī* and *ī* are regularly retained in all situations, e.g. *quīs*, *turribus*; *vīvō*, *inclīnō*, except that final *-ī* may become *-e*, e.g. *mare* for \**marī*; *sedīle* for \**sedīlī*.

*ŏ*.

76. 1. *ŏ*, except in the very earliest stages of the language (prior to 230 B.C.), has regularly become *ŭ* in unaccented syllables, e.g. *filius*, for earlier *filios*; *dōnum* for \**dōnom*; *opus* for \**ōpos*; *vehunt* for \**vehont*; *contulī* for \**contolī*; *sēdulō* for \**sē dolō*. Final syllables in *-quos*, *-quom*; *-vos*, *-vom*; *-uos*, *-uom*, etc., retained the *ŏ* to a considerably later period; see § 57. 1. *ŏ* was also regularly retained before *r*, e.g. *temporis*.

2. Before a nasal + a consonant, *ŏ* also occasionally changes to *ŭ*, e.g. *uncus* for a primitive \**oncos*; *umbilicus* for \**ombilīcos*.

*ō*.

77. *ō* regularly remains unchanged in Latin in all situations, e.g. *dōnum*, *victōrēs*, *licētō*.

## ŭ.

78. *ŭ* before labials, became *ĩ* about the close of the Republic (see § 6. 2), e.g. *libet* for earlier *lubet*; *lacrima* for earlier *lacruma*; *lacibus* for earlier *lacubus*.

## ū.

79. *ū* is regularly retained in all situations, e.g. *fūmus*, *conjūntum*, etc.

## ai.

80. 1. In syllables which, under the early accentuation (see § 55), were accented, original *ai* was retained, becoming about 100 B.C. *ae*, which, in turn, late in imperial times, developed into a monophthongal sound; see § 10. 2.

2. In syllables which, under the early accentuation (§ 55), were unaccented, original *ai* became regularly *ī*, e.g. *inquīrō* for *\*inquairō*; *exīstumō* for *\*éxaistumō*; *virtūtī*, *mīlifī*, etc., for *\*virtūtai*, etc.; *mēnsīs*, *portīs*, etc., for *mēnsais*, etc.

## oi.

81. 1. In syllables which, under the early Latin accentuation (see § 55), were accented, original *oi*, though retained in the oldest monuments of the language, early passed into *ū*, e.g. *ūtilis* for *oitilis*; *ūnus* for *oinos*. In a few words, however, *oi* was retained and passed into *oe*, e.g. *foedus*, *moenia*; § 11.

2. In final syllables, which, under the early accentuation (§ 55), were unaccented, *oi* became *ī*, e.g. *hortī* (Nom. Plu.) for *\*hortoi*; *hortīs* for *\*hortois* (§ 86). A trace of *-ois* is preserved in *oloes*, for earlier *\*olois* (Festus, p. 19, M.).

## ei.

82. It is uncertain whether *ei* was still a diphthong in the earliest monuments of the Latin language or had already become a monophthong. Certainly the monophthongal value (*ī*) estab-

lished itself very early, and  $\bar{i}$  came to be the regular orthography for the earlier *ei*, e.g. *dīcō* for *deicō*; *fīdō* for *feidō*; *dīvus* for *deivos*, etc.

### ui.

83. This diphthong undergoes no changes; see § 14.

### au.

84. 1. *au* is regularly retained in syllables which, under the early accentuation (§ 55), took the accent, e.g. *aurōra*, *claudō*. In the speech of common life this *au* had a tendency to become an open  $\bar{o}$  (later close), and in some words this colloquial pronunciation even established itself permanently in the literary language. Examples are: *Clōdīus* for *Claudius*; *plōdō*, in *explōdō*, *implōdō*, etc.

2. In syllables which, under the early accentuation (§ 55), remained unaccented, *au* regularly became  $\bar{u}$ , e.g. *inclūdō* for *\*inclaudō*; *dēfrūdō* for *\*défraudō*.

### eu and ou.

85. Primitive Latin *eu* and *ou* are nowhere preserved in the existing monuments of the Latin language. *eu* first became *ou* (seen in early Latin *doucō* for *\*deucō*), and subsequently developed to  $\bar{u}$ , e.g. *dūcō*, *lūceō*. Original *ou* became  $\bar{u}$  directly.

### SHORTENING OF LONG DIPHTHONGS.

86. The name 'long diphthong' is given to diphthongs whose first element consisted of a long vowel.  $\bar{A}i$ ,  $\bar{o}i$ ,  $\bar{e}i$ ,  $\bar{e}u$ ,  $\bar{a}u$ ,  $\bar{o}u$  existed in the parent-speech; of these  $\bar{a}i$ ,  $\bar{a}u$ , and  $\bar{o}i$  were inherited by the Latin in a few instances and developed as follows:

a) In the interior of a word before a consonant, the long diphthongs suffered shortening of the first element, e.g. *\*hortōis* (for *\*hortōis*), whence *hortīs* (see § 81. 2); *gaudeō* for *\*gāudeō* (cf. *gāvīsus*); *nāufragus* for *\*nāufragus* (cf. *nāvis*).

ð) When final, *āi* and *ōi* probably became *āi* and *ōi* before an initial vowel, but *ā* and *ō* before an initial consonant. Thus, in the Dative Singular of *ā*-stems (primitive termination *-āi*), we should originally have had *\*portā*, for example, before consonants, *portāi* before vowels. The ante-vocalic form *portui* (*portae*; § 80. 1) ultimately established itself as the sole inflection. Yet in early Latin, we find traces of the ante-consonantal form, e.g. MATVTA, CIL. i. 177. In the Dative Singular of *o*-stems (primitive termination *-ōi*) the ante-consonantal form prevailed, e.g. *populō*. Yet, in the earliest Latin inscription (CIL. xiv. 4123), we find NVMASIOR, the ante-vocalic form.

#### RE-COMPOSITION AND DE-COMPOSITION.

87. 1. The principles laid down in the foregoing sections for the change of vowels and diphthongs in the (originally) unaccented syllables of compounds often seem to be violated. Thus *appetō*, *expetō*, *intelligō*, *neglegō* occur where the law demands *\*appitō*, *\*expitō*, *negligō*, *intelligō*. These apparent irregularities are in reality not due to any violation of the law, but are the result of 'Re-composition,' i.e. the identity of the simple verb was so keenly felt that the language restored it in the compound, thus replacing the regular *\*appitō*, *intelligō*, etc., with *appetō*, *intelligō*, etc. Other instances of the same kind are *exaequō*, *conclausus*, *exquaerō*, where phonetic laws would demand *\*exiquō*, *conclūsus*, *exquīrō*.

Many compound words are also naturally much later than the operation of the laws above referred to.

2. Sometimes the form taken by a verb in composition occurs instead of the original form, e.g. *clūdō* for *claudō*, after *inclūdō*, etc.; *plīcō* for *plecō* after *implicō*, etc. This process may be called 'De-composition.'

3. Re-composition and De-composition manifest themselves not only in connection with vocalic changes, but also in connection with many of the consonantal changes enumerated in the

following sections. Cf. e.g. *trānsdūcō* as an illustration of Re-composition. The phonetic form is *trādūcō*, which also occurs. Cf. also *sescentī* (the phonetic form; § 105. 1), but *sexcentī* (Re-composition).

#### SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

88. 1. A group of some twenty words exhibits shortening of an accented long vowel, with compensatory doubling of the following consonant, viz. *Jūppiter* (for earlier *Jūpiter*), *cuppa*, *littera*, *muccus*, *succus*, *hallūcinārī*, *parricīda*, *bacca*, *gluttus*, *gluttīre*, *bucca*, *damma*, *muttīre*, *stuppa*, *futtilis*, *Messalla*, *braccae*, *puppa*, *allium*, *stellīo*, *strenna*, *helluō*, *culleus*, *pilleus*. Many of these words often appear in MSS., texts, and inscriptions, written with a single consonant; that represents the earlier spelling. The orthography of the Augustan Age has two consonants.

2. The vowel was regularly shortened in final syllables in *m* and *t*; also in the original *-ār* and *-ēr* of Passive forms; and in the Nominative endings *-tēr*, *-tōr*, *-sōr*, *-ōr*, *-āl*, *-ār*.

3. Words of original iambic form, e.g. *mīhī*, *tībī*, *sībī*, *mōdō*, *cītō*, *cēdō*, often suffered permanent shortening of the ultima, giving *mīhī*, *tībī*, *modō*, *cedō*, etc. The name of 'Breves Breviantes' ('shorts shortening') has been given to this process.

#### COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.

89. In accented syllables, an *s* before a voiced consonant is often dropped with lengthening of a preceding short vowel, e.g. *sīdo* for *\*si-sd-ō*; *querēla* for *\*queresla*; *egēnus* for *\*egesnos*. Often the consonantal group contains other consonants before the *s*, which first disappear (in accordance with § 105. 1), e.g. *ālā* for *\*acsla*; *rēmūs* for *\*retsmos*; *scālā* for *\*scantsla*; *tēmō* for *\*tēcsmō*. This lengthening of the short vowel in compensation, as it were, for an omitted consonant, is designated 'compensatory lengthening.'

## ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS.

90. Vowels are occasionally assimilated to each other in successive syllables, *e.g.* *nihil* for \**nehil*; *nisi* for \**nesi*; *sobolēs* for *subolēs*; *rutundus* (chiefly in poetry) for *rotundus*; *tugurium* for \**tegurium* (*tegō*); *purpura* for πορφύρα; and in reduplicated perfects, *e.g.* *momordī* for *memordī*; *totondī* for *tetondī*; *pupugī* for *pepugī*; *etc.* Assimilation is mainly restricted to short vowels, but possibly we should recognize the assimilation of a long vowel in *filius*, lit. 'suckling,' for \**fē-lius*, root *dhē-*; in *suspiciō* for \**suspēciō* (root *spec-*); *subtilis* for \**subtēlis* (*tēla*).

## PARASITIC VOWELS.

91. In the immediate environment of a liquid or nasal, a parasitic vowel sometimes develops. Thus, especially in the suffixes *-tlo-*, *-blo-*, *-clo-*, which become *-tulo-*, *-bulo-*, *-culo-*, *e.g.* in *vitulus*, *stabulum*, *saeculum*; yet the original forms continued in use in the colloquial language and in poetry, *e.g.* *saeculum*, *vinchum*. Further examples are *famulus* (for \**famlos*); *populus* for \**poplos*; and several words borrowed from the Greek, *e.g.* *Aesculāpius* (Ἀσκληπιός); *mina* (μνᾶ); *drachuma* (δραχμή).

## SYNCOPE.

92. In early Latin a short vowel following an accented syllable was often dropped. Illustrations of this are: *auceps* for \**aviceps*; *auspex* for \**avisplex*; *ārdor* for \**āridor*; *reddō* for *re-d(i)dō*; *actūs* for *acvitūs*; *prūdēns* for \**prōv(i)dēns*; *valdē* for *validē*; *officīna* for \**op(i)ficīna*; *anceps* for *amb(i)-ceps*. Syncope in final syllables is seen in *ager* for \**agr(o)s*, \**agrs*, \**agr*, *etc.*, and *ācer* for *ācris*, \**ācrs*, \**ācr*, *etc.*; see § 100.

## APOCOPE.

93. 1. Final *ē* and *ī* often disappear, *e.g.* *et* (for \**eti*; Gr. *ἐτι*), *aut* (for \**auti*); *quot*, *tot* (for \**quoti*, \**toti*; cf. *toti-dem*); *ob* for \**obi*; and in neuter *i*-stems, *e.g.* *animal* for \**animālī*; *calcar*

for \**calcārī*. But dissyllabic *ī*-stems change *-ī* to *-ē*, e.g. *mare* for \**mari*.

2. Final *ō* disappears in *ab*, for an original \**apo* (Gr. ἀπό); and *sub* for \**supo* (cf. Gr. ὑπό). On the change of *p* to *b*, see § 96. 1.

## THE CONSONANTS.<sup>1</sup>

### THE MUTES.

#### The Palatal and Guttural Mutes, *c*, *q*, *g*.

94. 1. There were two series of *k* and *g*-sounds in Indo-European, the former designated as 'Palatals,' the latter as 'Velars.' The Palatals were formed further forward in the mouth, and developed in most languages as *k* (in Latin regularly as *c* (*c*), rarely as *q*; in Sanskrit and Slavic as sibilants, *s*, *sh*, etc.). The Velars were formed further back in the throat, and fall into two subdivisions:

a) The Velars of the first type develop in all languages as plain gutturals, — *k*, *g*.

b) The Velars of the second type develop with labialization, i.e. they have a parasitic *w*-sound after the *k* or *g*. Latin represents these sounds respectively by *qu* and *gu*.

2. Examples of the different Gutturals are:

**Palatals:** *centum*, *dīcere*, *socer*; *agō*, *genū*, *argentum*.

*qu* for *c* appears in *queror*, *queō*, *equos* (cf. Skr. *āçvas*), but never *gu* for *g*.

**Velars:**

a) Without Labialization: *cavēre*, *canere*; *grūs*, *gelū*, *tegō*.

b) With Labialization: *quis*, *quī*, etc.; *sequor*; *-que*; *-linguō*; *stinguō*, *unguen*. Before *u* or a consonant, *qu* appears as *c*, e.g.

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<sup>1</sup> See in general Brugmann, *Grundriss*, §§ 320–598; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. iv.; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 42–61; *Lateinische Lautlehre*, pp. 232–291.



*stercus* (cf. *sterquilinium*), *arcus* (cf. *arquitenēns*); *-lictus* (cf. *-linquō*). When initial, *gu* (i.e. *gv*) loses the *g* and becomes *v*, e.g. (*g*)*venīre*, (*g*)*vīvos*, (*g*)*vorāre*.

3. *-cn-* and *-cm-* occasionally develop as *gn* and *gm*, e.g. *salīg-nus* from *salix* (root *salic-*); *dīgnus* for *\*dec-nus*; *sēgmentum* for *\*sec-mentum* (*sec-ō*).

### The Dental Mutes, *t*, *d*.

95. 1. *t* regularly appears as *t*, but in the Indo-European suffix *-tlo-*, *t* became *c*, e.g. *piāclum* (whence *piūculum*) for *\*piātlo-*; *saecum* (*saeculum*) for *\*saetlo-*; *vinclum*, etc. Sometimes this *-clo-* subsequently (by dissimilation; see § 110) developed to *-cro-*, when a preceding syllable had *l*, e.g. *lavācrum* for *\*lavāclom*, *\*lavātlo-*; in *quadrāgintā*, *quadringentī*, *d* has not developed from *t*; *quadr-* probably represents a different word; see § 183. 13.

2. *d* is regularly retained, but becomes *l* in a few words, e.g. *lacruma* for *dacruma* (preserved in Ennius); *lingua* for early *dīngua* (helped perhaps by association in the folk-consciousness with *lingere*, 'lick'); *solium* for *\*sod-ium* (Ablaut of *sed-*; see § 64. a); *lēvir* for *\*dēvir* (Gr. δᾱ(φ)ήρ).

### The Labial Mutes, *p* and *b*.

96. 1. *p* regularly remains unchanged; but in the prepositions *ab*, *ob*, *sub*, *b* has developed from an earlier *p*. The original forms of these words were *\*apo* (Gr. ἀπό), *\*op-i* (in Ablaut relation to Gr. ἐπί; cf. § 64. a); *supo* (cf. Gr. ὑπό). By loss of the final vowel these became *\*ap*, *\*op*, *\*sup* (cf. *sup-er*, *suprū*); *ap-* and *op-* are probably to be recognized in *aperiō* and *operiō*; but before voiced consonants the *p* of *ap*, *op*, and *sup* regularly became *b* by partial assimilation, e.g. *ab dūce*, *ob dēlictā*, *sub dēcessū*, whence the forms with *b* ultimately became predominant. In *bibō* the initial *b* is for an original *p* by assimilation; cf. Skr. *pibāmi*. By assimilation also, an original *\*penque* became *quīnque*; and *\*pequō* became first *\*quequō*, then *coquō*.

2. *b*, as the descendant of Indo-European *b*, is by no means a frequent sound in Latin, particularly initial *b*. Examples are *baculum*, *balbus*, *brevis*; *lūbricus*, *labrum*. On the late development of intervocalic *b* to a spirant, see § 16. 2.

### The Indo-European Aspirates in Latin.

97. In the Indo-European parent-speech the aspirates were almost exclusively voiced, *i.e.* *bh*, *dh*, *gh* (both palatal and velar); *ph*, *th*, *ch* were extremely rare. These voiced aspirates developed in Latin as follows:

#### 1. Indo-European *bh* became:

- a) *f* at the beginning of words, *e.g.* *fāgus* (for *\*bhāgos*; Gr. φηγός); *fā-rī* (root *bhā-*; Gr. φημί); *fu-i* (root *bhu-*; Gr. φύω); *fer-ō* (root *bher-*; Gr. φέρω).
- b) *b* in the interior of words, *e.g.* *ambō* (for *\*ambhō*; Gr. ἄμφω); *orbis* (root *orbh-*; Gr. ὀρφανός); *mor-bus* (suffix *-bho-*).

#### 2. Indo-European *dh* became:

- a) *f* at the beginning of words, *e.g.* *fūmus* (for *\*dhūmos*; Gr. θυμός); *fēmina* (root *dhē-*; Gr. θήλυς); *forum* (root *dhor-*).
- b) Usually *d* in the interior of words, *e.g.* *medius* (for *\*medhios*; *cf.* Gr. μέσσος for *\*μεθιος*); *aedēs*, 'fire-place,' 'hearth' (root *aidh-*; Gr. αἶθω, 'burn'); *viduus* (root *vidh-*); but
- c) *b* in the interior of words, if an envioning syllable contains *r*, *e.g.* *ūber* (root *oudh-*; Gr. οὔθαρ); *rubro-* (root *rudhro-*; Gr. ἐρυθρός); and in the suffixes *-bro-* (for *-dhro-*; Gr. θρο-), *e.g.* *crī-brum*. Similarly before *l* in the Indo-European suffix *-dhlo-* (Gr. -θλο-), *dh* becomes *b*, *e.g.* *stabulum* (with *-bulum* for *-blum*; see § 91).

3. **Indo-European *gh*.** Here we must distinguish palatal and velar *gh*.

A. *Palatal gh*. This became :

a) *h*, when initial or between vowels in the interior of words, e.g. *hiems* (root *ghim-*; Gr. χεῖμὼν); *holus* (root *ghol-*); *vehō* (root *vegh-*); *ānser* (root *ghāns-*) has lost the initial *h*; see § 23.

b) *g* after *n*, e.g. *fiŋgō* (root *dheigh-*, with the infix *n*).

c) *f* before *u*, e.g. *fu-ndō* (root *gheu-*).

B. *Velar gh*.

a) Unlabialized velar *gh* becomes regularly *h*, but *g* before *r*, e.g. *hostis* (for *\*ghostis*); *pre-hendō* (root *ghend-*); *gradior* (for *\*ghrad-*).

b) Labialized velar *gh* becomes, —

1) *f*, when initial, e.g. *formus* (for *\*ghormos*).

2) *gu* after *n*, e.g. *ninguit* (root *(s)nigh-*, with infix *n*).

3) *v* between vowels, e.g. *nivis*, *nivī*, etc. (root *snigh-*).

#### THE SPIRANTS, *s*, *f*, *h*.

98. 1. *s* is the most important of the spirants, as regards phonetic changes. An original *s* regularly became *r* between vowels ('*Rhotacism*'), e.g. *ger-ō* for *\*ges-ō* (cf. *ges-sī*, *ges-tus*); *dirimō* for *\*dis-emō* (cf. *distinguō*); *temporis* for *\*tempos-is* (cf. *tempus*); *portārum* for *\*portāsom*. This change took place within the historical period of the language. It had been consummated before the close of the fourth century B.C. But the grammarians retained the tradition of the earlier forms, and often cite such words as *arbosem*, *pīgnosa*, etc. This change of *s* to *r* sometimes seems to occur before *v*, e.g. *lārva* (root *las-*). But this is only apparent; *v* in such cases is secondary, having developed from *u*, so that the rhotacism is regular: *lār-u-a* (for

\**lās-u-a*) ; cf. *Lar-ēs* (for *Lasēs*) ; *fur-u-os* (for \**fus-u-os* ; cf. *fus-cus*) ; *Mener-u-a* (for \**Menes-u-a*) ; *lū-ru-a* and *Miner-u-a* are both found in Plautus.

2. Wherever *s* appears between vowels in the classical language it is a result of the reduction of *ss* after a long vowel or a diphthong, e.g. *mīsī* for *mīssī* (i.e. \**mīt-sī*) ; *suāsī* for *suāssī* (i.e. \**suādsī*) ; *haesī* (for *haes-sī*) ; *causa* for *caussa* ; *divisiō* for *divīssiō*.

The forms with double *ss* were current in Cicero's day (cf. Quintilian i. 7. 20), and occur occasionally in inscriptions much later ; after short vowels *ss* was, of course, always retained, e.g. *fissus*, *scissus*, etc.

3. In a few cases intervocalic *s* appears to have resisted rhotacism, e.g. *basium*, *miser*, *caesariēs*. Possibly the *s* was retained in *miser* and *caesariēs* as a result of dissimilation (§ 110), i.e. in order to avoid \**mirer*, \**caerariēs*.

4. By analogy, the *r* resulting from rhotacism sometimes crept into the Nominative from the oblique cases, e.g. *honor* (originally *honōs*) after *honōris*, *honōri* (originally \**honōsis*, etc.).

5. For the omission of the spirant *h*, see § 23.

## THE LIQUIDS, *l*, *r*.

### The Liquids as Consonants.

99. 1. As consonants, the Latin liquids exhibit few peculiarities. Their most important feature is a tendency toward dissimilation, as a result of which *l* changes to *r*, or *r* to *l*, to avoid the repetition of *l* or *r* in successive syllables. Examples are seen in the suffixes *-āri-*, *-cro-*, for *-ālī-*, *-clo-* (from *-tlo-* ; see § 95. 1), e.g. *exemplāris* (to avoid \**exemplālīs*) ; *lucrum* (to avoid \**luclum*). So *caeruleus* is for \**caeluleus* (*caelum*). Sometimes *r* disappears altogether as a result of the tendency to avoid two *r*'s in successive syllables, e.g. *praestigiāe* for *praestrigiāe* (*praestringō*) ; *sempiternus* for \**sempe(r)-ternus*.

## The Liquids as Sonants.

100. In the Indo-European parent-speech, whenever roots which, in their strong grades, contained *el*, *ol*; *er*, *or*, became reduced to the weak grade (see § 64. *b*), the *l* or *r* (by the disappearance of the *e* or *o*) became sonant, *i.e.* endowed with vocalic character, usually indicated by *l̥*, *r̥*. English has these sounds in *bottl̥* (written *bottle*); *centr̥* (written *centre*), *etc.* These Indo-European sonant liquids developed in Latin as follows:

1. *l̥* developed regularly as *ul*, sometimes as *ol*, *e.g.* *pulsus* (for an Indo-Eur. *\*pl̥-tós*; root *pel-*); *-cultus* in *oc-cultus* (for an Indo-Eur. *\*cl̥-tós*; root *cel-*); *tollō*, *i.e.* *\*tol-nō* (for *\*tl̥-nō*, root *tel-*).

Sometimes the sonant *l* was long in quantity and then developed as *al* or *lā*, *e.g.* *salvus* for *\*sāl̥-vós*; *lāna* (*i.e.* *\*vlāna*) for *\*vāl̥-nā*, from root *vel-*; *cf.* *vel-lus*; *lātus* (*i.e.* *\*tlātus*; § 104. 1 *a*), from root *tel-*.

2. *r̥* developed regularly as *or* or *ur*, *e.g.* *curvus* (for *\*cr̥vós*, root *cerv-*; *cf.* *cerv-īx*); *porta* (for *\*pr̥-tā*, root *per-*; *cf.* Gr. *πείρω*, for *\*πέρ-ω*); *curtus* (for *\*cr̥-tós*, root *cer-*; *cf.* Gr. *κείρω* for *\*κέρ-ω*).

Like the sonant *l*, the sonant *r* was sometimes long in quantity. It then developed as *ar* or *rā*, *eg.* *armus* (for *\*r̥mós*); *strātus* (for *\*str̥-tós*; root *ster-* in *sternō*); *crūtis* (for *\*cr̥-tis*).

3. In certain instances a sonant *r* arose in Latin itself. This sonant *r* developed differently from the Indo-European *r̥* above described, regularly becoming *er*. Thus in the Nominative Singular of *ro*-stems, *ager*, for example, was originally *\*agros*; by Syncope (see § 92) *\*agros* became *\*agr̥s*, whence by assimilation *\*agr̥(r)*, and by development of *r̥* to *er*, *ager*. Similarly, stems in *-ris* developed an *er* in the Nominative Singular. Thus *ācris* gave first *\*ācr̥s*, then *\*ācr̥*, whence *ācer*. Other instances of the same change are *libertās* for *\*libr̥-tās* (root *libro-*), *acerbus* for *\*ācr̥-bus*; *incertus* for *\*inc̥rtus* (from *\*inc̥ritos*, root *cri-*); *sēcernō* for *\*sēc̥rnō* (from *\*sēc̥rinō*, root *cri-*); *agellus*, *i.e.* *\*ager-lus* for *\*āgr̥-lus*, from *agro-*.

THE NASALS, *m*, *n*.

## The Nasals as Consonants.

101. As consonants the Latin nasals exhibit few peculiarities.

1. Before *j*, *m* became *n*, e.g. *veniō* for \**gemjō* (with labio-velar *g*; § 94. 1); *quoniam* for \**quomjam*.

2. On the tendency of *m* to disappear before labials, and *n* before dentals, see § 20. 2-4.

## The Nasals as Sonants.

102. In the Indo-European parent-speech, whenever roots which, in their strong grade, contained *em*, *om*; *en*, *on*, became reduced to the weak grade (see § 64. *b*), the *m* or *n* (by the disappearance of the *e* or *o*) became sonant, i.e. endowed with vocalic character, usually indicated by *ṃ*, *ṅ*. English has these sounds in *butṃ* (written *button*), *rhythm*, etc.

1. These Indo-European sonant nasals developed in Latin regularly as *em* and *en*, e.g. *septem* (for \**septṃ*); *decem* (for \**decṃ*); *ped-em*, *mīlitem*, etc., for \**pedṃ*, *mīlitṃ*, etc.; *mementō* for \**me-mṃ-tōd*; *tentus* for \**tṃ-tós* (root *ten-*); and in the suffix *-men* for *-mṃ*, e.g. *nōmen*.

2. Like the liquid sonants (see § 100. 1, 2) the nasal sonant *n* is sometimes long, and then develops as *an* or *nā*, e.g. *antae* for \**ṇtae*; *gnā-tus* (for \**gṇ-tós*; root *gen-*); *gnā-rus* (for \**gṇ-rós*).

THE SEMI-VOWELS *j*, *v*.

103. 1. Primitive intervocalic *j* regularly disappeared, e.g. *ea* for \**eja*; *eō* for \**ejō*; *trēs* for \**tre-es* (i.e. \**trejes*); *moneō*, etc., for \**monejō*.

2. When following a consonant, primitive *j* became *i*, e.g. *veniō* for \**venjo*; *capiō* for \**capijō*; *medius* for \**medjōs*.

3. Intervocalic *v* also often disappears, e.g. *cōntiō* for *co(v)entiō*; *lātrīna* for \**la(v)ātrīna*; *nōlō* for \**ne(v)olō*; *jūcundus* for

*ju(v)icundus*; *jūnior* for \**juvenior*. Yet this law does not affect all instances of intervocalic *v*.

4. *av* and *ov* in unaccented syllables regularly became *u*, e.g. *domuī* for \**dōmazī*; *abluō* for \**āblavō*; *dēnuō* for *dē novō*; *impluō* for \**implovō*; *induō* for \**indovō*; *suus* and *tuus* for earlier *sovos* and *tovos*, owing to their frequent enclitic (unaccented) use.

## CONSONANT CHANGES.<sup>1</sup>

### INITIAL COMBINATIONS.

104. 1. Initial consonant combinations often drop the first consonant. Thus :

a) Mute lost :

1) *p* in *tilia* for \**p̄tilia* (Gr. *πτελέα*); *sternuō* for \**p̄sternuō*.

2) *t* in *lātus* for \**tlātus* (root *tel-*); *d* in *Jū-piter* for \**Djeu-pater* (cf. Gr. *Ζεύς* for \**Δεῦς*).

3) *g* in *lac* for \**glact* (cf. *γάλακτος*), also in *nātus* for *gnātus*; *nōtus* for *gnōtus*; yet the *g* appears in the archaic language and in compounds, e.g. *ignōtus* (for \**ingnōtus*); *cognātus* (for \**con-gnātus*). By analogy *cognōmen* takes a *g* (for \**connōmen*).

b) *s* lost :

1) before mutes : in *caedō* for \**scaidō* (cf. *sci(n)dō*); *triō* for \**striō* (root *ster-*); *torus* for \**storus* (root *ster-*, *stor-*; cf. *ster-nō*, *stor-ea*, 'mat'); *tegō* for \**stegō* (cf. *στέγω*); further, in *līs*, *locus*, *lātus*, 'broad,' for *stlīs*, *stlocus*, *stlātus*. Early Latin still has *stlocus* (e.g. CIL. v. 7381) and *stlātus*, while *stlīs* is regularly used in the phrase *Xvirī stlitibus iudicandīs*. Cf. also Quintilian, i. 4. 6.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 62-69; *Lateinische Lautlehre*, pp. 295-334.



- 2) Before liquids and nasals : in *lūbricus* for \**slūbricus* ;  
*ninguit*, *nix* (for \**sninguit*, \**snix*) ; *mīrus* for  
 \**smīrus*.

c) *v* lost in *lāna* for \**vlāna* ; *rādīx* for \**vrādīx*.

2. Other initial changes :

a) *st* stands for an initial *sp* in *stud-eō* (cf. Gr. σπεύδω).

b) *sve-* becomes *so-* in *soror* for \**sve-sor* ; *socer* for \**svec-*  
*ros* ; *somnus*, i.e. \**sop-nus*, for \**svepnos*. But *sv-*  
 is retained in *suā-vis*, *suādeō*, *suēscō* ; while it develops  
 as *s* in *sex* (for \**svex*), and *sī* for enclitic \**svai* (cf.  
 Oscan *svai*).

c) *dv-* becomes *b* in *bellum* (and derivatives) ; in *bonus*  
 and *bis* (earlier *dvis* ; cf. Gr. δίς for \*δφίς) ; *bīmus* for  
 \**dvi-him-us*, 'of two winters.' The early forms *dvel-*  
*lum*, *dvonōrum* are preserved in inscriptions, and as  
 archaisms in the poets.

CONSONANT CHANGES IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.

**105. Simplification of Compound Consonant Groups.**—1. In the case of groups of three or more consonants, one or more were regularly dropped in the formative period of the language to facilitate pronunciation. Examples are : *suscipiō* for \**subs-*  
*cipiō* ; *asportō* for \**abs-portō* ; *ostendō* for \**obs-tendō* ; *miscēō* for  
 \**mig-sccō* (cf. Gr. μίγ-ννμ) ; *discō* for \**di-dc-scō* ; *illūstris* for \**illūc-*  
*stris* ; *suēscō* for \**suēdscō* ; *ecferri* for \**ecs(ex)ferri* ; *pāstus* for  
 \**pāstus* ; *mulsi* for \**mulg-sī* ; *ultus* for \**ulctus* ; *quīntus* for  
 \**quīnctus* ; *ārsi* for \**ārdsi* ; *tortus* for \**torctus* ; *ursus* for \**urc-*  
*sus* ; *sparsi* for \**spargsi* ; *bimēstris* for \**bimēns-tris* ; *poscere* for  
 \**porcscere* ; *Tusci* for \**Tursci* (cf. Umbrian *Turskum*) ; *alnus*  
 for \**alsnus* ; *fulmentum* for \**fulc-mentum* ; *urna* for \**urc-na* (cf.  
*urc-eus*) , *quernus* for \**querc-nus*.

Here also belong such compound forms as *ignōscō* for \**ingnōscō* ;  
*cognōscō* for \**congñōscō* ; *agnōscō* for *adgnōscō*.

2. Often such simplification is merely preliminary to further changes, — regularly so when the groups *sl*, *sm*, *sn* arise. Compensatory lengthening (§ 89) then takes place, e.g. *pīlum*, ‘mortar,’ for \**pinslum*, \**pislum*; *āla* for \**acsla*, \**asla*. The preposition *ē* as a ‘by-form’ of *ex* arose in this way, e.g. *ēligō*, *ēnormis* for \**ecsligō*, \**esligō*; \**ecsnormis*, \**esnormis*; after *ē* became established in compounds, it came to be used separately. So also *trā-* arose, e.g. *trādūcō* for *trānsdūcō*, \**trāsdūcō*. *Trānsdūco* is the result of ‘Re-composition’ (§ 87. 3).

3. Where two of three consonants in a group are a mute and a liquid, owing to facility of pronunciation, simplification does not take place, e.g. *astrum*, *antrum*. Other groups easy of pronunciation are sometimes preserved, e.g. *sculpsī*, *serpsī*, *planxī*, though these may be due to analogy. Compounds like *trānscribō*, *trānsportō*, which are much later than the formative period of the language, are not to be regarded as exceptions.

#### ASSIMILATION.

106. 1. Assimilation is designated as ‘regressive’ when the first of two consonants is assimilated to the second, ‘progressive’ when the second is assimilated to the first.

2. By regressive assimilation the following changes take place :

*bc* to *cc*, e.g. *occurrō*.

*bg* to *gg*, e.g. *suggerō*.

*bf* to *ff*, e.g. *sufferō*.

*bp* to *pp*, e.g. *supportō*.

*dc* to *cc*, e.g. *accurrō*.

*dg* to *gg*, e.g. *aggerō*.

*dl* to *ll*, e.g. *sella* (\**sed-la*); *lapillus* (\**lapid-lus*).

*dn* to *nn*, e.g. *mercēnnarius* for \**mercēd-narius*.

*ds* to *ss*, e.g. *jussus* for \**jud-sus* (root *judh-*).

*dp* to *pp*, e.g. *apportō*.

*tc* to *cc*, e.g. *siccus* for \**sit-cus* (cf. *sit-is*).

*ts* to *ss*, e.g. *quassī* for \**quatsī*.

*pm* to *mm*, e.g. *summus* for \**sup-mus*.

*pf* to *ff*, e.g. *officīna* for \**opficīna*, i.e. \**opi-ficīna*; see § 92.

*nm* to *mm*, e.g. *gemma* for \**gen-ma*, i.e. 'sprout' (root *gen-*).

*nl* to *ll*, e.g. *ŭllus* for \**ŭnlus*, i.e. \**ŭnulus*; see § 92.

*ns* sometimes to *ss*, which was later simplified to *s*, e.g. in adjectives in *-ōsus*. The earlier form was *formōnsus*, etc., whence *formōssus* (cf. § 98. 2), *formōsus*.

*rl* to *ll*, e.g. *stella* for \**ster-la*; *agellus* for \**ager-lus* (see § 100. 3); *pauillus* for \**paur-lus* (cf. Gr. *παῦπος*).

3. By progressive assimilation the following changes occur :

*ld* to *ll*, e.g. *mollis* for \**moldis*. Assimilation affects only a primitive *ld*; in *valdē* (= *validē*; § 92), for example, the *ld* remains unchanged.

*ln* to *ll*, e.g. *pellis* for \**pelnis*; *ln* resulting from Syncope (§ 92), as in *ŭlna* for \**ŭlena*; *volnus* for \**vol-inus*, is not affected by this change.

*ls* to *ll*, e.g. *velle* for \**velse*; *facillumus* for \**facilsumus*.

*rs* to *rr*, e.g. *ferre* for \**fer-se*; *torrēre* for \**tors-ēre*. Secondary *rs*, for *rtt*, as in *versus* for \**verttos* (see § 108. 1) generally remained unchanged, but in the colloquial language such an *rs* sometimes became *ss* or *s*, e.g. *prōssus*, *prōsus* for *prōrsus* (i.e. *prōversus*).

4. **Partial Assimilation.** — Sometimes assimilation is only partial. Thus :

a) A labial nasal may become dental, or a dental nasal may become labial, owing to the influence of the following mute, e.g. *centum* for \**cemtum*; *ventum* for \**vemtum* (root *gem-*); *con-tendō* for \**com-tendō*, etc., whence arose *con-* as a separate form of the preposition *com-*.

b) A voiced mute may become voiceless before a following voiceless sound, e.g. *āc-tum* (for \**āg-tum*); *scrīp-sī* for \**scrībsī*.

- c) The labial mutes *p* and *b* are changed to the corresponding nasals before *n*, e.g. *somnus* for \**sop-nus* (earlier \**suep-nos*; § 104. 2. *b*); *Samnium* for \**Sab-nium* (cf. *Sabīnī*); *antemnae* for \**ant-ap-nae*; lit. 'opposite fastenings,' — hence 'yards.'

## METATHESIS.

107. Metathesis or transposition is perhaps to be recognized in *fundō* for \**fud-nō*; *unda* for \**ud-na*; *pandō* for \**pat-nō*; and *tendō* for \**te-tn-ō* (reduplicated present).

## OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES.

108. 1. An original *dt* or *tt* became *ss*, e.g. *sessus* for \**sed-tus*; *passus* for \**pat-tus*. After a long vowel or diphthong such an *ss* became *s* in the Augustan era, though retained in Cicero's time (§ 98. 2), e.g. *ūsus*, earlier *ūssus*, for \**ūt-tus*; *dīvisus*, earlier *dīvīssus*, for \**dīvīd-tus*. In such forms as *lāp-sus*, *pulsus*, *nexus* (= *nec-sus*), *fixus*, *s* has not developed phonetically, but has simply been borrowed from words like *sessus*, *fisus*, etc. When followed by *r* an original *dt* or *tt* became *st* (instead of *ss*), e.g. *claustrum* for \**claud-trum*; *pedestris* for \**pedettris*. In syncopated forms and compounds, *dt* simply became *tt*, e.g. *cette* for \**ced-ate* (cf. *cedo*), *attendō*; i.e. these forms belong to a period in which the change of *dt*, *tt* to *ss* was no longer operative.

2. Between *m* and *l*, a parasitic *p* developed, e.g. *exemplum* for \**exemlom*; *templum* for \**tem-lom*. Such a *p* developed also between *m* and *s* in *sūmpsī*, *contempsī*, and between *m* and *t* in *ēemptus* and *contemptus*; *hiems* did not develop this *p*; the phenomenon apparently was confined to accented syllables.

3. An original *-sr-* became *br*. The steps in this change were first from *sr* to *br* (*p* = Eng. *th*), then to *fr*, whence *br*. Examples are: *sobrīnus* for \**sosr-īnus* (\**sosr-* from \**sosor*, earlier form of *soror*; see § 104. 2. *b*); *tenebrae* for \**tenesrae*; *membrum* for

\**memsrom*; *fūnebris* for \**fūnesris* (cf. *fūnes-tus*); *muliebris* for \**muliesris* (cf. *mulier-is* for \**mulies-is*; § 98. 1).

4. For the disappearance of *s* before *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *b*, *d*, *g* in accented syllables, combined with lengthening of a preceding short vowel, see § 89. In unaccented syllables *s*, in such cases, was lost without affecting the quantity of the previous vowel, e.g. *vīdīmus* for \**vidismus*; *corpulentus* for \**cōrposlentus*; *satīn* for *sātisne*; *pōtīn* for *potisne*.

#### CONSONANT CHANGES AT THE END OF WORDS.

109. 1. Single consonants are usually retained. Final *s* does not become *r* phonetically, but is changed after the analogy of the *r* arising by rhotacism in the oblique cases; see § 98. 4. Final *n* in the Nominative Singular of *n*-stems, disappeared prior to the existence of Latin as a separate language, e.g. in *homō* for \**hom-ō(n)*; \**carō(n)*, etc. After a long vowel or a diphthong, final *d* is found in early inscriptions, but disappeared toward the close of the archaic period. Examples are: Ablatives Singular of the first and second declension, e.g. *praedū* for *praedād*; *Gnaivō* for *Gnaivōd*; also certain Adverbs and Prepositions, e.g. *extrā*, *suprā*, etc.; *prō-* for *prōd-*, which latter appears in *prōdesse*. So also *sē-* for *sēd-*, which latter appears in *sēditō*.

2. Geminated consonants are not written at the end of a word; thus *as* for \**ass* (cf. *as-sis*); so *fel* for \**fell*, i.e. \**fels* (§ 106. 3); *far* for \**farr*, i.e. \**fars* (§ 106. 3); yet it is probable that geminated consonants were spoken in these words, e.g. *hocc* (for \**hocc*), not *hōc*; so *ess*, 'thou art,' *farr*, *fell*, *ass*.

3. Groups of two consonants at the end of a word are simplified, -

a) By dropping the second, e.g. *mel* for \**melt*; *lac* for \**lact*; *os* for \**ost*; *cor* for \**cord*. In *fers*, *fert*, *volt*, *est*, the final consonant is retained after the analogy of *agis*, *agit*, etc. A regular exception to the general principle is seen in final *ps* and *x*, e.g. *ops*, *urbs* (*bs* = *ps*; see § 27); *rēx*, *tēx*.

b) By dropping the first, *e.g.* *mīles* for \**mīlets*; *pēs* for \**pēds*; and in final syllables in *-ns*, as *agrōs* for \**agrōns*; *turrīs* for \**turrīns*.

4. Final *-nts*, *-nds*, *-rts*, *-rds*, *-lts* lost the *t*, *e.g.* *mōn(t)s*, *frōn(d)s*, *concor(d)s*, *ar(t)s*, *pul(t)s*. Final *-nx*, *-lx*, *-rx* are permitted, *e.g.* *lanx*, *falx*, *merx*.

#### DISAPPEARANCE OF SYLLABLES BY DISSIMILATION.

110. By a natural tendency, when two syllables began with the same consonant, the first syllable was often dropped, *e.g.* *dēbilitāre* for \**dēbilitā-tāre*; *calamitōsus* for \**calamitātōsus*; *dentīō* for \**dentitīō*; *portōrium* for \**portitōrium*; *venēficus* for \**venēnificus*; *voluntārius* for \**voluntātārius*; *sēmōdius* for \**sēmi-modius*.

## CHAPTER VII.

### INFLECTIONS.

#### DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Ā*-Stems.

111. In the Indo-European parent-speech there was Ablaut (§ 62) in the suffix of *ā*-stems. The weak grade of *ā*, viz. *ǎ* (§ 66) occurred in the Vocative Singular, and also in the Nominative and Accusative Dual, if Brugmann's theory be correct; see § 120. Elsewhere the suffix remained *ā*.

112. **Nominative Singular.** — 1. The original Nominative Singular had *-ā*, e.g. *\*portā*. But *-ā* was shortened to *-ǎ* before the beginning of the historical period. Possibly this shortening was owing to the influence of the Accusative Singular, where *\*-ām* regularly became shortened to *-ǎm* (§ 88. 2). The relation of the Nominative to the Accusative in *o*-stems, *u*-stems, and *i*-stems might easily have led to such shortening. Cf. the following proportional representations:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{servŏs} : \text{servŏm} \\ \text{frŭctŭs} : \text{frŭctŭm} \\ \text{ignŭs} : \text{ignŭm} \end{array} \right\} : : \text{portā} : \text{portām}.$$

Possibly the law of Breves Breviantes (§ 88. 3), by which *\*fŭgā*, *\*fĕrā*, *\*rŏtā*, etc., regularly became *fŭgǎ*, *fĕrǎ*, *rŏtǎ*, etc., led to the

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<sup>1</sup> See, in general: Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. §§ 184-404; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chaps. v. and vi.; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 75-88.



extension of *-ǎ* for *-ā* to all Nominatives. Either one or both of these influences may have operated to produce the shortening of final *ā*.

2. The Latin has developed a number of Masculine *ā*-stems, e.g. *agricola*, 'farmer' (probably originally 'farming'); cf. *optiō m.*, 'centurion's assistant,' from *optiō, f.*, 'choice, selection.' Other languages exhibit this same phenomenon, e.g. Greek. Thus *νεα-νιάς*, 'a youth,' probably goes back to a lost *\*νεα-νιά*, 'youth' (abstract), the *-s* being appended to indicate the Masculine signification; so further many Greek Masculines in *-ās*, *-ης*. The mediaeval Latin word *bursa, f.*, meant 'company of students,' but subsequently became individualized to mean 'a student' (German *Bursche*); so *camerāta, f.*, 'roomful of comrades,' later 'comrade' (German *Kamerad*). Cf. also English *justice* (the quality) and *justice* ('magistrate'); Spanish *justicia*, by change of gender, also covers these two senses.

**113. Genitive Singular.** — The ending of the Genitive Singular in Indo-European was *-s*, *-es*, *-os*, the different forms representing Ablaut (§ 64. *a*), as the result of varying accentual conditions of the parent-speech. In the case of *ā*-stems, the case-ending had already united with the *ā*- of the stem producing the contraction *-ās*. This appears in but a few Latin words. It is preserved in *familiās* in the combinations *pater familiās*, *māter familiās*, etc., but elsewhere is archaic, e.g. *viās* (Enn. *Ann.* 421 Vahl.), *fortūnās* (Naevius).

**114.** The Genitive Singular in *-ae* goes back to an earlier *-āī* (dissyllabic), which is found in the poets as late as the Augustan Age. This termination *-āī* apparently arose by appending the Genitive termination *-ī* of the *o*-stems directly to the stem, e.g. *portā-ī*. Whether *āī* became *ai*, *ae* by regular phonetic processes, or partly under the influence of the Dative and Locative ending *ae*, is uncertain.

115. *Dative Singular.* — The Indo-European case-ending of the Dative Singular was *-ai*. But this had already in the Indo-European parent-speech contracted with the final *-ā* of the stem producing *\*-āi*, whence successively *-ai*, *-ae* (ante-vocalic form; §§ 86; 80. 1). On an early Dative in *-ā* see also § 86.

116. *Accusative Singular.* — The case-ending was *-m* in Indo-European. This in combination with *-ā* of the stem must have given a primitive Latin *\*-ām*, e.g. *\*portām*; but the vowel in all final syllables in *m* had probably become shortened before the beginning of the historical period (§ 88. 2).

117. *Vocative Singular.* — There was no case-ending in the Vocative Singular of *ā*-stems in the Indo-European parent-speech. The Vocative simply had the weak form *ā* of the suffix *ā* (§ 111). Thus *\*portā* would represent the Indo-European Vocative Singular of *portā*. This *\*portā* would become in Latin *\*portē* according to § 71. 1. Hence the Vocative in actual use must be referred to another origin; it is probably simply the Nominative transferred to Vocative uses. The same is true of most Latin Vocatives in all declensions.

118. *Ablative Singular.* — The Indo-European case-ending of the Ablative Singular seems to have been *ā* with some preceding vowel, i.e. *-āi*, *-āi*, or *-āi*. In the noun-declension, this case-ending belonged in Indo-European exclusively to the *ā*-stems (see § 130). In Latin it was transferred to *ā*-stems also, combining with the final *-ā* of the stem to produce *-āi*, which is preserved in early inscriptions. e.g. *PRADAD*, CIL. i. 63. 64; *SENTENTIAD*, CIL. i. 196. S. 17. These inscriptions belong to the period of Plautus, and such Ablatives are probably to be recognized in the text of his comedies. Before an initial consonant, final *ā* when following a long vowel regularly disappeared. Theoretically, therefore, for a while two forms must have existed, — an ante-

consonantal form, *praidā*, etc., and an ante-vocalic form, *praidūd*, etc. But the ante-consonantal form early became predominant, — probably by 175 B.C.

119. **Locative Singular.** — The case-ending of the Locative Singular in Indo-European was *-ī*. In *-ā*-stems this combined with *-ā* of the stem to produce *-āi*, a long diphthong (§ 86), which then became shortened to *-āi*, later *-ae*, just as in the case of the Dative (§ 115).

120. **Nominative and Vocative Plural.** — The original case-ending of the Nominative Plural in Indo-European was *-ēs* for all nouns. In the case of *-ā*-stems, this *-ēs* must early have contracted with final *-ā* of the stem to *\*-ās*. This *\*-ās* is the regular termination of the Nominative Plural of *-ā*-stems in the other Italic dialects, — Oscan, Umbrian, etc.; but has entirely disappeared in Latin.<sup>1</sup> Instead of *-ās*, we have the termination *-āi*, which Brugmann takes as an original Nominative and Accusative Dual (cf. Skr. *duvē* = Indo-Eur. *\*duv-āi*) that has taken on a Plural function. But an original final *-āi* regularly becomes *-ī*, so that we should expect *\*portī* (for *\*portāi*), if the Nominative Plural were descended from this Dual form. Final *-ai* in Latin, as seen in the case of the Genitive, Locative, and Dative Singular (§§ 114, 115), can come only from an original *-āi*, as the ante-vocalic form (§ 86). Hence Latin *portae* (early Latin *\*portai*) must go back to an original *\*portāi*. The exact nature of this formation is not clear; but Greek *χῶραι*, *μῦσσαι*, etc., are apparently of the same origin. The Vocative Plural of *-ā*-stems is simply the Nominative employed in a Vocative function.

121. **Genitive Plural.** — It is uncertain what form the case-ending of the Genitive Plural had in Indo-European. It was either *-ōm* or *-om*, with the probabilities in favor of the latter

<sup>1</sup> A few possible vestiges occur in the early language.

(Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. p. 689). With the  $\bar{a}$  of the stem this case-ending must have early contracted to  $*\bar{a}m$ , a termination which has entirely disappeared from all the Italic dialects. Instead of  $*\bar{a}m$  the Latin has  $\bar{a}rum$ , a termination borrowed from the Genitive Plural of the Pronominal Declension. This  $\bar{a}rum$  is developed by Rhotacism (§ 98. 1) from an earlier  $\bar{a}som$ , which appears in Homeric Greek in the form  $\bar{a}\omega\nu$ , e.g.  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  for  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}(\sigma)\omega\nu$ . The forms ending in  $-um$ , which sometimes occur in the poets, e.g. *caelicolum*, *Dardanidum*, are new formations, possibly in imitation of the  $o$ -stems, possibly after the analogy of such Genitives as *Aeneadum* (from *Aeneadēs*).

**122. Dative and Ablative Plural.**—The Indo-European parent-speech had no special form for the Ablative in the Plural. The Ablative Plural, in all languages in which that case occurs, is identical in form with the Dative. The genuine Dative and Ablative Plural of  $\bar{a}$ -stems in  $\bar{a}bus$  (on  $-bus$ , see § 144) appears only in a few words where distinction of sex is important, e.g. *equābus*, *filiābus*, *libertābus*, etc. Elsewhere we have the termination  $\bar{is}$ , which is historically an instrumental formation borrowed from the  $o$ -stems. The termination of the Instrumental Plural of the  $o$ -stems was  $-ois$  (see § 133). By analogy the  $\bar{a}$ -stems created the termination  $-ais$ , which regularly became  $\bar{is}$  (see § 80. 2).

Some advocate a Locative origin for these forms, but that is less probable.

**123. The Accusative Plural.**—The case-ending of the Accusative Plural in Indo-European was  $-ns$ . The  $n$  disappeared according to § 109. 3, i.e. *portās* for  $*portāns$ .

### ***o*-Stems.**

#### **A. MASCULINES AND FEMININES.**

**124.** In the Indo-European parent-speech there was Ablaut (§ 70) in the suffix of  $o$ -stems. Both forms of the strong grade

occur, *ē* and *ō*. The former appears in the Vocative and Locative (Genitive) Singular, and partially in the Ablative; the latter in the remaining cases.

**125. Nominative Singular.**—This is formed by appending *-s* to the stem, *e.g.* *horto-s*; later *hortus* (§ 76. 1). On *ager*, see § 100. 3.

**126. Genitive Singular.**—The so-called Genitive Singular of *o*-stems is in all probability a Locative that has taken on the function of the Genitive. The suffix took the form *e* (see § 124) which, with the Locative case-ending *i*, gave by contraction *-ei*, whence regularly *-ī*. The Locative function is still apparent in *humī*, *bellī*, *domī*, *herī*; also in town names, *e.g.* *Corinthī*.

**127. Dative Singular.**—The Indo-European case-ending *-ai* early combined by contraction with final *o* of the stem, producing *-ōi*. Perhaps we have this in *Numasioi* in our earliest Latin inscription, CIL. xiv. 4123. In the historical period *-ōi* has become *ō* (ante-consonantal form, § 86). Cf. *Mātūtā* for *Mātūtūi* (§ 86).

**128. The Accusative Singular.**—The regular ending *-m* is appended to the stem in *o*, *e.g.* *horto-m*, classical *hortum* (§ 76. 1).

**129. Vocative Singular.**—The stem with the *e*-suffix serves as a Vocative, *e.g.* *hort-e*; there is no case-ending.

**130. Ablative Singular.**—*O*-stems were the only class of nouns in Indo-European that originally had a special Ablative case-ending; other nouns, so far as they exhibit a special ending for this case, have borrowed it from *ō*-stems. The form of this case-ending is *d* with a preceding vowel, *ā*, *ē*, or *ō*, *i.e.* *-ād*, *-ēd*, or *-ōd*. As the case-ending appears only in contraction, the vowel cannot be determined. The stem appears in two forms, — one in

*o-* and one in *e-* (§ 124), *e.g.* *rēcto-* and *rēctē-*. With the former of these the case-ending combined to produce *\*rēctōd*, and with the latter *\*rēctēd*. Forms with *d* appear in early Latin, *e.g.* *poplicōd*, *facilumēd*. Later (by 175 B.C.) the *d* disappeared; see § 118. The forms in *-ē* became appropriated as Adverbs, — *rēctē*, *facilumē*, *etc.*

**131. Nominative and Vocative Plural.** — The Nominative Plural of *o*-stems in Indo-European was originally formed by appending the case-ending *-ēs* to the stem, giving Indo-European *-ōs*. This termination appears in the other Italic dialects, — Oscan, Umbrian, *etc.*; but in Latin the *o*-stems have borrowed the termination of the Pronominal Declension, *viz.* *-oi*. A tradition of this appears in *pilumnoe*, *poploe* cited by Festus (p. 205, ed. Müller). But final *oi* regularly became *ī*, the classical termination, *e.g.* *hortī*. In Plautus and in early inscriptions, we find also a termination *-ēs*, *e.g.* *magistrēs*. This represents a borrowing from the *i*-stems (see § 154), helped doubtless by the existence of *quēs* as a 'by-form' of *quī* (the relative).

**132. Genitive Plural.** — The original termination was *-ōm*, the result of contraction of final *o* of the stem and the case-ending *-ōm* or *-ōm* (§ 121). This termination, shortened to *-ōm* (§ 42. 1), appears in early Latin, *e.g.* *Rōmānom*, and in the form *-um* (§ 76. 1) is also regular in certain words in the classical period, *e.g.* *talentum*, *modium*, *deum*, *etc.* (*Gr.* § 25. 6. *a*). The usual ending *-orum* is of secondary origin, and is formed after the analogy of the Genitive Plural of *ā*-stems (§ 121).

**133. Dative and Ablative Plural.** — The so-called Dative and Ablative Plural is in reality an Instrumental. The Indo-European form of the termination was *-ōis*. This in Latin became first *-ōis* (§ 86), and then *-īs* (§ 81. 2), the classical termination. *Cf.* § 122.



**134. Accusative Plural.** — The Indo-European case-ending was *-us*. Latin *\*horto-us* would represent the primitive formation; this became *hortōs*; § 109. 3. *b*.

#### B. NEUTERS.

**135.** In the Singular these present no special peculiarity. The Nominative, Accusative, and Vocative have *-m* as case-ending, which is Indo-European.

**136. The Nominative, Accusative, and Vocative Plural** have *-ǎ*. This ending is in all probability identical with that of the Nominative Singular of *-ā*-stems, *i.e.* certain Feminine collective nouns came to be felt as Plurals and were so used syntactically. Thus an original *\*jugā* (Latin *jugā*) meaning 'collection of yokes' (*cf.* German *das Geföche*) came to be felt as a Plural and was construed accordingly. The use of the Singular in Greek with a Neuter Plural subject, apparently dates from the time when the Neuter Plural was still a Feminine Singular.

#### Consonant Stems.

##### A. MASCULINES AND FEMININES.

The original case-endings are seen to best advantage in the Mute stems.

**137. Nominative Singular.** — The case-ending is *s*, which combines with the final consonant in the ways enumerated in *Gr.* §§ 32, 33, *e.g.* *prīncep-s*; *mīles*, *dux*.

**138. Genitive Singular.** — Of the three forms of the Indo-European case-ending, *viz.* *-s*, *-es*, *-os*, the second, *-es*, is the one which regularly appears appended to consonant stems. This becomes *-īs* according to § 73. 2. *a*), *e.g.* *ped-īs*, *mīlītīs*. Traces of the ending *-os* are seen in early Latin *nōmin-us* (*-us* for *-os* acc. to § 76. 1), *Castor-us*, *honōr-us*, *etc.*, — perhaps also in *opus* in the phrase *opus est*, 'it is necessary.' *Cf.* § 341. 2.



**139. Dative Singular.** — The Indo-European case-ending was probably *-ai*, which regularly became *-ī*, e.g. *ped-ī* for *\*ped-ai*; *mīlitī* for *\*mīlitai*.

**140. Accusative Singular.** — The Indo-European case-ending was *-m*, which, after a consonant, necessarily became sonant (§ 102. 1) and developed as *-em*, e.g. *pedem* for *\*pedm*; *prīncipem* for *\*prīncipm*.

**141. Ablative Singular.** — The termination *-ě* may represent either the Indo-European Instrumental case-ending *-ǎ* or the Locative *-ǐ*. Each of these would regularly become *-ě* in Latin (§§ 71. 1; 75). Probably we should recognize the presence of both formations in the Latin Ablative, just as we recognize the presence of both Instrumental and Locative meanings in that case.

**142. Nominative and Vocative Plural.** — The Indo-European case-ending of the Nominative Plural was *-ēs*, seen in Greek *-ες* (e.g. *φύλακ-ες*), but is not preserved in Latin. Plautine *canēs*, *pedēs*, *turbinēs*, etc., come under § 88. 3. The ending *-ēs* which appears regularly in all nouns of so-called Third Declension has been borrowed from the *ī*-stems; see § 154.

**143. Genitive Plural.** — The regular ending *-um* is for earlier *-om*. Whether this was *-ōm* or *-om* in Indo-European is uncertain; see § 121.

**144. Dative and Ablative Plural.** — The Indo-European ending was *-bhos*, which became *-bos* (§ 97. 1. *b*). This appears once or twice in early Latin, but soon became *-bus* (§ 76. 1). The *i* of *-ibus*, the regular termination of all consonant stems, is borrowed from the *i*-stems; § 156.

**145. Accusative Plural.** — The Indo-European ending *-ns* became *-us* (§ 102. 1) after a consonant. This regularly became *\*-ens*, whence *-ēs*; § 109. 3. *b*.

## B. NEUTERS.

**146.** The Nominative and Accusative Singular are formed without case-ending. For the *-ā* of the Nominative and Accusative Plural, see § 136.

## STEM-FORMATION OF CONSONANT STEMS.

**147.** Several formative suffixes originally showed Ablaut (§§ 62, 70). Thus :

1. **S-Stems.**—Stems formed with the suffix *-os* (*-us*), e.g. *gen-us*, had in certain cases the suffix *-es-*; thus originally Nom. *\*gen-os*, Gen. *\*gen-es-es*, Dat. *\*gen-es-ai*, later *gen-us*, *gen-er-is*, *gen-er-ī* (§ 98. 1). In some words the *-os-* suffix of the Nominative invaded the oblique cases, e.g. *temp-us*, Gen. *temp-or-is* (for *\*temp-os-es*). Yet the *-es-* suffix appears in the adverbs *temp-er-ī*, *temp-er-e*. Cf. also *temp-es-tās*, *temp-es-tivus*, where the original *-es-* has been protected by the following *t*. *Pignus*, which is ordinarily declined *pignus*, *pignoris*, had the *-es-* suffix in early Latin, e.g. *pignerī* (Plautus).

2. **Nasal Stems.**—The suffixes of many nasal stems originally had Ablaut (§§ 62, 70). Thus :

a) The suffix *-ōn-* (lengthened from *-on-*, strong grade; § 62) had another strong form, *-en-*, and a weak one, *-n-*. Most words have lost the *-n-* grade, and show only *-on-* or *-en-*, e.g. *umb-ō* for *umb-ō(n)* (§ 109. 1), Gen. *umb-ōn-is*, etc., *ōrd-ō(n)*, *ōrd-in-is* (for *\*ōrd-en-is*, § 73. 2), *turb-ō(n)*, *turb-in-is*. *Car-ō(n)*, Gen. *car-n-is*, shows a trace of the weak grade of the suffix.

b) The suffix *-iō(n)-* had another form of the strong grade, viz. *-ien-*, and a weak grade *-īn-*. The weak grade appears in the other Italic languages, Oscan, Umbrian, etc., but not in Latin, where we have only *-iōn*, e.g. *āctiō(n)*, *ācti-ōn-is*.

c) The suffix *-mō(n)-* had also the grades *-men-* and *-mn-*. Sometimes the *-men-* grade appears in the oblique cases, e.g.

*ho-mō(n)*, *ho-min-is*, etc.; sometimes the *-mō(n)* of the Nominative appears throughout, e.g. *sermō*, *sermōnis*.

d) Neuters in *-men* show two forms of the suffix. In the Nominative *-men* stands for *-mŋ* (§ 102. 1), e.g. *nō-men* for \**nō-mŋ*. In the oblique cases *min-* is for *men-*, e.g. *nō-min-is* for \**nō-men-es* (§ 73. 2).

3. **R-Stems.**—Some of these originally had Ablaut in the suffix. Thus :

a) Nouns of relationship in *-ter*, e.g. *pater*, *māter*, *frāter*. These originally had three forms of the suffix, viz. *-ter-*, *tēr-*, and *-tr-* (weak form; § 62). The Greek has clung quite closely to the original declension, *πα-τήρ*, *πα-τρ-ός*, *πα-τέρ-α*. In Latin the *-tr-* form of the suffix has gained the supremacy in the oblique cases; in the Nominative, *-ter* represents earlier \**tēr* (§ 88. 2).

b) Nouns of agency in *-tor* originally had three forms of the suffix, viz. *-tōr-*, *-tōr-*, *-tr-*. In Latin these have all practically been reduced to one, *-tōr* (Nominative *-tōr* being for earlier \**-tōr*; § 88. 2). The weak grade *-tr-*, however, appears in the corresponding feminine nouns of agency, e.g. *vic-tr-īx*, *gene-tr-īx*, etc.

## Ī-Stems.

### A. MASCULINE AND FEMININE Ī-STEMS.

148. These originally had Ablaut (§§ 62; 70) in the suffix. The strong form of the suffix was *-ei-*, the weak form *-ī-*.

Many original *ī*-stems have passed over in Latin into the *-iō(n)* class (§ 147. 2. b). Examples are *statiō* (earlier \**statis*; cf. Gr. *στάσις* for \**στα-τις*); *-ventiō* (earlier \**-ventis*; cf. Gr. *βάσις* for \**βα-τις*); *-tentiō* (earlier *-tentis*; cf. Gr. *τάσις* for \**τα-τις*).

149. **Nominative Singular.**—This is regularly formed by appending *-s*, e.g. *īgni-s*, *turri-s*. Several nouns have lost the *i* before *s* by Syncope (§ 92), e.g. *pars* for \**part-(i)s* (cf. *partim*); *gēns* for \**gent-(i)s*; *mēns* for \**ment-(i)s*. Gr. § 38. 3.

**150. Genitive Singular.** — The Indo-European termination seems to have been *-eis*, *i.e.* *ei* (strong form of suffix) + *-s*, weak grade of Genitive case-ending (§ 138). But this termination *-eis*, while preserved in Oscan and Umbrian, has disappeared in Latin. The termination *-is* is borrowed from Consonant stems.

**151. Dative Singular.** — The Indo-European case-ending *-ai* regularly became *-ī* as in consonant stems, and this *-ī* contracted with the *ī* of the stem, *e.g.* *turriī* for *\*turri-ī*.

**152. Accusative Singular.** — The regular ending *-m* is appended to the stem, *e.g.* *turri-m*. The termination *-em* (borrowed from the Consonant stems) has, however, largely displaced primitive *-im*. See *Gr.* § 37.

**153. Ablative Singular.** — There was no special form for the Ablative Singular of *ī*-stems in Indo-European. The Latin, however, formed an Ablative in *-d*, *e.g.* *turriīd*, after the analogy of *o*-stems (*hortos* : *hortom* : *hortōd* : : *turris* : *turrim* : *turriīd*). These *-d*-forms, however, are attested by only scanty examples; the *d* early disappeared (§ 109. 1), leaving the termination *-ī*.

**154. Nominative Plural.** — The suffix of the Nominative Plural took the form *-ei-* (§ 148). Thus the primitive formation would be represented by *\*turri-ei-ēs*. The *i* between vowels first became *j*, and then regularly disappeared. The resulting *\*turriēs* then became *turriēs* by contraction. *Cf.* in Greek *πόλεις* (*ei* = *ē*) for *\*πολει-ες*.

**155. Genitive Plural.** — The ending *-um* is appended to the stem ending in the *ī*-suffix, *e.g.* *turri-um*.

**156. Dative and Ablative Plural.** — The Indo-European ending *-bhos* is appended to the stem, ending in the *ī*-suffix, *e.g.* *turri-bus*. On *-bus* for *\*-bhos*, see §§ 97. 1. *b*; 76. 1.

**157. Accusative Plural.** — The termination was *-ns*; hence originally *turrins*, whence *turrīs* (§ 109. 3. *b*). The termination *-ēs*, which is often used instead of *-īs*, is borrowed from the Consonant stems.

#### B. NEUTER *ī*-STEMS.

**158. 1.** These changed the final *-ī* to *-ē* by a regular law (§ 75). Stems of more than two syllables then dropped the *-ē* thus developed, while dissyllabic stems retained it, *e.g.* *calcar(e)*, *animal(e)*; but *mare*, *rēte*.

**2.** The case-endings of Neuter *ī*-stems are in general the same as for Masculines and Feminines. On the *-ā* (*i.e.* *ī-a*) of the Nominative and Accusative Plural, see § 136.

#### Consonant Stems that have partially adapted themselves to the Inflection of *ī*-Stems.

**159.** As stated in the *Grammar*, § 40, the adaptation is practically confined to the Plural, *viz.* the Genitive and Accusative, where *-ium* and *-īs* take the place of the normal *-um* and *-ēs*. Several distinct groups of words belong here:

**1.** One of the most important classes consists of nouns in *-ēs*, *e.g.* *aedēs*, *nūbēs*, *etc.* These seem to have been originally Neuters with the suffix *-os*-, *-es*- (§ 147. 1). Thus *aedēs* is the Greek *αἶθος*; *sēdēs* is the Gr. *ἔδος*, *etc.* What has led to the adaptation of these words to the inflection of *ī*-stems in the Genitive and Accusative Plural is not certain; but the fact that no stems of this class ever show *-im* in the Accusative Singular or *-ī* in the Ablative Singular,<sup>1</sup> whereas regular *ī*-stems in *-īs* frequently show these endings, makes it impossible to regard nouns in *-ēs*, Gen. *-īs*, as actual *ī*-stems.

**2.** Nouns in *-tās*, Gen. *-tātis*, may possibly represent *ī*-stems, *i.e.* *civitat-ī*; yet the absence of *-im* and *-ī*-forms in the Accusative and Ablative Singular is against this. Cf. 1 above.

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<sup>1</sup> Neue (*Formenlehre* i.<sup>2</sup> 235) gives one or two *extremely doubtful* examples of *-ī* from Mss.

## Ů-Stems.

A. MASCULINE AND FEMININE *u*-STEMS.

**160.** Like the *ǐ*-stems, the *ǔ*-stems had a suffix which appeared in two forms, *viz.* *-eu-* and *-u-*. The former was strong; the latter weak. See §§ 64. *c*; 70.

**161. Nominative Singular.** — The Nominative Singular appends *-s*, *e.g.* *frūctu-s*.

**162. Genitive Singular.** — The Genitive Singular had the strong form of the suffix, *viz.* *-eu-*. To this was added the Genitive case-ending in its weakest form, *viz.* *-s* (§ 138), thus *\*frūcteu-s*, whence regularly *frūctūs* (§ 85). Early Latin also shows two other formations, *viz.* in *-uis* and *-uos*, *e.g.* *senātu-is* and *senātu-os*. These represent the other forms of the Genitive case-ending.

The termination *-ūs* cannot be explained as the result of contraction from either *-uis* or *-uos*. Neither *ui* nor *uo* contracts to *ū*.

In Plautus and Terence *u*-stems largely follow the analogy of *o*-stems and form the Genitive Singular in *-ī*, *e.g.* *senātī*.

**163. Dative Singular.** — The Indo-European case-ending *-ai* appended to the stem regularly gives *-ī*, *e.g.* *frūctu-ī*. The Dative in *-ī* is not formed from that in *-uī* by contraction; for *-uī* does not contract to *ū*. The forms in *ū* are either Instrumentals or Locatives. Thus *frūctū* may be for *\*frūctu-e* by contraction. On *ǔ* as the representative of an original *-ǣ* (Instrumental case-ending), see § 141. If Locative, *frūctū* is for *\*frūcteu*, a peculiar suffixless formation.

**164. Accusative Singular.** — The regular ending *-m* is appended, *e.g.* *frūctu-m*.

**165. Ablative Singular.** — The earliest Latin formation had *-d*, *e.g.* *frūctūd*. This, however, was not inherited from the Indo-

European, but was a new formation, specifically Latin. See § 153. The *-d* was soon dropped, giving *frūctū*.

**166. Nominative Plural.** — The original formation would have been in *\*-eu-ēs*, i.e. the strong form of the suffix (§ 160) + the Nominative case-ending *-ēs*; *\*-eu-ēs* would regularly have become *\*-u-is*, which would have remained uncontracted. The regular Nominative Plural in *-ūs* must, therefore, be referred to another origin; it is probably an Accusative that has taken on a Nominative function. Cf. early Latin Nominatives in *-īs* from *ī*-stems, which are likewise Accusatives in Nominative function.

**167. Genitive Plural.** — *Frūctu-um*, etc., are for earlier *frūctu-om*. On *-om*, see § 121.

**168. Dative and Ablative Plural.** — The regular Indo-European case-ending *\*-bhos* became Latin *-bus* (§ 97. 1. *b*), and was regularly appended to the stem in *u-*, e.g. *frūctu-bus*. Later, either owing to the influence of Consonant and *ī*-stems, or to the tendency of *ū* to become *ī* before labials (§ 6. 2), *-ubus* often became *-ibus*. *Tribubus* never becomes *\*tribibus*, — for what reason, is not clear.

**169. Accusative Plural.** — The primitive formation would be represented by *\*frūctū-us* (case-ending *-us*), whence regularly *frūctūs*; § 109. 3. *b*.

#### B. NEUTER *ī*-STEMS.

**170.** These are not numerous and present few peculiarities. The long *u* of *genū* and *cornū* has been explained as an original dual formation, — ‘two knees,’ etc.

#### *ī* and *ū*-Stems.

**171. 1.** The only *ī*-stem in Latin is *īūs*. The terminations of the Singular follow those of *ī*-stems; *ī* has probably been shortened in the Genitive, though the actual quantity cannot be



proved. The Accusative *vīm* for *\*vīm* is regular; § 88. 2. In the Plural *vīrēs*, *vīrium*, etc., result from the conception of the stem as *vīs-*, whence *\*vīs-ēs*, *vīrēs*, etc.; § 98. 1. Cf. the early Latin Plural, *spērēs* from *spē-s*, an *ē*-stem.

2. *Ū*-stems are represented by *sūs* and *grūs*, both of which take the endings of consonant-stems, shortening *ū* regularly to *ū* before vowels. *Subus* is not a contraction of *suibus*, but represents another formation.

### *Ē*-Stems.

172. *Ē*-stems are represented by *spēs*, *quiēs*, and nouns in *-iēs*, e.g. *rabiēs*, *aciēs*, *faciēs*, *speciēs*, etc. The suffix *-iē-* originally had Ablaut (§ 70) in Indo-European, appearing in the forms *-ī-* and *-iē-*; but Latin has lost all traces of the *ī*-suffix and has *-iē-* throughout. On *rēs* and *diēs*, which were originally diphthong-stems, see § 180.

172<sup>a</sup>. **Nominative Singular.**—The case-ending is *-s* as elsewhere.

173. **Genitive Singular.**—The *-ī* of *-ēī* is probably borrowed from *ō*-stems, precisely as in case of the ending *-āī* of *ā*-stems; subsequently *ē* was shortened before *-ī*, when a consonant preceded the termination, e.g. *fidēī*, *spēī*, *rēī*, *plēbēī*. The ending *-ē*, e.g. *aciē*, *diē* (in such expressions as *quintī diē*, *postrūdīē*, *prūdīē*, etc.) is not Genitive, but Locative. The original formation was *\*dīēī* (Locative ending *-ī*). But under certain conditions this diphthong *-ēī* became *-ē* (cf. § 86); hence *diē* for *\*dīēī*.

174. **Dative Singular.**—The genuine Dative formation is seen in *aciēī* for *\*aciē-ai* (§ 80. 2). The Locative in *-ē* serves not only as Genitive (§ 173), but sometimes also as Dative, e.g. *fidē*, *rē*.

174<sup>a</sup>. **Accusative Singular.**—This is formed regularly by appending the case-ending *-m*, before which *ē* is regularly shortened (§ 88. 2), e.g. *aciēm* for earlier *\*aciēm*.

**175. Ablative Singular.**—No traces of forms with *-d* are found, though it is likely that *aciē*, *etc.*, are for an earlier *\*aciēd*, *etc.* This formation would be secondary, after the analogy of the Ablative Singular of *ō*-stems.

**176. Nominative Plural.**—The Nominative case-ending *-ēs* (see § 142) combines by contraction with the stem, *e.g.* *aciēs* for *\*aciē-ēs*.

**177. Genitive Plural.**—The termination *-ērum* is after the analogy of *-ārum* of the *ā*-stems and *-ōrum* of the *ō*-stems.

**178. Dative and Ablative Plural.**—The ending *-bus*, for Indo-European *-bhos* (§ 97. 1. *b*), is appended directly to the stem.

**179. Accusative Plural.**—The primitive Latin formation would be represented by *\*aciēns*, whence *aciēs* (§ 109. 3. *b*).

#### Stems ending in a Diphthong.

**180. 1.** *Rēs*, originally a diphthongal stem, *viz.* *\*rēis*, had become *rēs* in the Indo-European period.

2. The Nominative Singular of *nāvis* was originally *\*nāus*. This form disappeared; *nāvis* is a new formation after the Genitive *nāvis*, Dative *nāvī*.

3. *Bōs* is probably not a genuine Latin word, but is borrowed from one of the Italic dialects (Oscan?); *ō* represents earlier *ōu*.

4. The stem of *Jū(piter)* was, in Indo-European, *\*Djev-*. Initial *dj* regularly became *j* (§ 104. 1. *a*); hence *\*Djev-* became *\*Jev-*, and further *Jov-* (§ 73. 3). From this stem are formed the oblique cases *Jov-is*, *Jov-ī*, *Jov-em*. The Vocative consisted of the simple stem, namely *\*Jev*, which became *\*Jeu*, *Jū-* (§ 85). It is this last which combined with *-piter* (*i.e.* *pater*, § 73. 2) gives *Jūpiter*, really a Vocative, but used as a Nominative as well.

The original Nominative was *\*Djēus*, with a 'by-form' *\*Dijēus*. From the latter came *Dīēs* (§ 86) seen in the archaic *Dīēspiter*, which is the real Nominative corresponding to *Jūpiter*. The same

*dies* as a common noun, 'day,' passed over into the inflection of the *ē*-stems.

# FORMATION OF THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.<sup>1</sup>

**181. The Comparative.**—The regular Comparative Suffix in Latin was *-ios-*, with *-ies-* as another form of the strong grade, and *-is-* as weak grade (§ 62). But *-ios-* alone survived in Latin. In the Nominative Masculine and Feminine the original formation was *-ios*. In the oblique cases *s* became *r* (§ 98. 1), e.g. *melīōris* for \**melīōsis*, and the *r* was subsequently transferred by analogy to the Nominative. The Neuter kept *s*, changing *o* to *u* (§ 76. 1), e.g. *melius*. *Minus* is not for \**min-ios* (which would be impossible in Latin), but was probably originally a Noun, *minus*, Gen. \**minēris*. This became an Adjective and developed a Masculine *minor*, after the analogy of other Comparatives.

The Indo-European parent-speech had another suffix, which in some languages developed Comparative force, viz. *-tero-*, *-terā-*, e.g. Greek *κακώ-τερος*. But in Latin this suffix retained its primitive force of 'having a relation to,' 'connected with,' e.g. *ex-terus*, lit. 'having a relation to the outside, outer'; \**interus*, *posterus*, *citer*, etc. These were felt as Positives and took the regular suffix *-ior-* to denote Comparative relation.

**182. The Superlative.**—We have three Superlative suffixes in Latin:

1. *-mo-* seen in *sum-mus* for \**sup-mus* (§ 106. 2); *prī-mus*; *brūma* 'winter,' lit. 'shortest day,' for \**brev-ma* (*brev-is*); *pessimus*; also in *extrē-mus*, *postrē-mus*, *suprē-mus*; *plūri-mus*, *proximus* (for \**proqu(i)s-imus*).

2. *-tumus*, *-timus* (§ 6. 2), seen in *ci-timus*, *ex-timus*, *in-timus*, *pos-tumus*, *ul-timus*, *op-timus*, for *op(i)timus*, from *ops* (§ 92);

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<sup>1</sup> See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 404; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, § 92.

earlier *citumus*, etc. This suffix originally had much the same meaning as *tero-*, *terā-* (see § 181), and still retains its primitive force in several words, e.g. *lēgi-timus*; *fīni-timus*, etc.

3. The suffix *-issimus* is of uncertain origin. It can hardly be for *-istimus*, a mingling of *-isto-* (seen in the Greek Superlative ending *-ιστος*) and *-mus*; for *-istimus* could not become *-issimus*. It is more likely that *-issimus* is for *\*isti-timus*. By syncope this would become *\*-isttimus*, whence *-issimus* (§ 108. 1). *Ācerrimus* is probably for an original *\*ācr-is-imos*, whence by Syncope (§ 92) *\*ācr̥simos*, *\*ācersimos* (§ 100. 3), *ācerrimus* (§ 106. 4). Similarly *facillimus* is for *\*fācil-is-imos*, *\*facilsimos*, *facillimus* (§ 106. 3); *-is-*, in the forms assumed as original, represents the weak form of the Comparative suffix (§ 181). Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. p. 158.

4. On the quantity of *i* in *-issimus*, see § 43.

#### NUMERALS.<sup>1</sup>

##### Cardinals.

183. 1. *Ūnus* is for earlier *oinos*; § 81. 1. (cf. Greek *οἶνῃ*, 'the one-spot' on dice). German *ein* and English *one* are the same word; Greek *εἷς* is not related to *ūnus*, but to *semel*, *singulī*.

2. *Duo* is for earlier *\*duō* according to § 88. 3; cf. Greek *δύω*. The formation was Dual.

3. *Trēs*. The stem shows Ablaut (§ 64. c), strong grade *trei-*, weak grade *tri-*. The former stem originally appeared in the Nominative, *\*trei-ēs*, whence *\*tre-ēs*, *trēs*. The other cases have *tri-*, viz. *tri-um*, *tri-bus*, *tri-a*, *trīs* (for *\*trī-us*; § 109. 3).

4. *Quattuor*. The Indo-European form from which *quattuor* is descended was probably *\*quetvōrēs*; but the Latin form early lost its inflection, after the analogy of the other indeclinable numerals; *-ōr* regularly became *ōr*; § 88. 3. The change of the

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. §§ 164–181; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 408 ff.; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, § 91.

primitive *e* to *a*, and the doubling of the *t* cannot be referred to any recognized law. The change of *v* to *u* is perfectly natural; cf. § 16. 1. *f*.

5. **Quīnque.** The Indo-European form was *\*penque*; cf. Skrt. *pañca*, Greek πέντε. Initial *qu-* in Latin is the result of assimilation of the first syllable to the second; cf. *bi-bō* for Indo-European *\*pi-bō* (Skrt. *piḥāmi*). The change of *e* to *i* is in accordance with § 73. 2. *b*. The lengthening of *i* awaits satisfactory explanation.

6. **Sex.** The Indo-European form was apparently *\*sveks*; on *s-* for *sv*, see § 104. 2. *b*). Cf. Greek ξέξ, Doric ϣέξ (for σϣέξ).

7. **Septem.** The Indo-European form was *\*septn̥*, which would have regularly developed in Latin as *\*septen̄* (§ 102. 1; cf. Eng. *sev-en*; German *sieb-en*); the final *-em* is the result of association with *dec-em* and *novem*.

8. **Octō** is descended from an Indo-European *\*octō*. The form was a Dual ('two fours'?).

9. **Novem.** The Indo-European form was *\*nev̥n̥*, which in Latin would regularly have appeared as *\*noven* (§ 102. 1; cf. Eng. *nī-ne*; German *neu-n*); *-em* for *-en* is due to the following *dec-em*.

10. **Decem** is for Indo-European *\*decn̥*; § 102. 1.

11. 'Eleven' to 'Nineteen.' These are regularly formed by composition, — *ūndecim*, *tredecim*, etc. On *-im* for *-em*, see § 73. 2. For *trēdecim* we should expect *\*trēdecim* according to § 89. The *ē* remains unexplained. 'Eighteen' and 'Nineteen' were usually expressed by *duodēvīgintī*, *ūndēvīgintī*.

12. **Vīgintī.** The Indo-European form was *\*vī-kmtī*, in which *vī*, 'two,' is for *\*dvī*, an original Neuter Dual, from the root *\*du-*; *-kmtī*, whence in Latin *\*-gentī*, *-gintī* (§ 102. 1) was also Dual, in the sense of 'tens.' The change of *k* to *g* is peculiar, though not unexampled; cf. *dig-itus* for *\*dic-itus* (from root *dic-* 'point').

13. 'Thirty' to 'Ninety.' These all end in *-gintā*, which in Indo-European was *\*-kontā* (cf. Gr. τριάκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, etc.), a Neuter Plural meaning 'tens'; *\*-kontā* shows the strong grade of the root whose weak grade *\*knt-* lies at the basis of *vīgintī* (see

above) ; *-gintā* for *\*-gontā* is due to the influence of *vīgintī*. On *g* for *c*, see above. *Trī-* in *trīgintā* is probably a Nominative Plural Neuter. The *-ā* in *quadrā-*, *quīnquā-*, *sexā-* is secondary. Its precise origin is uncertain. As regards *quadrā-*, it is best to disconnect it entirely from *quattuor*. It is probably an independent word.

14. **Centum** is for an Indo-European *\*centóm*, whence the Latin form by regular phonetic process ; § 102. 1. Eng. *hund-* in *hundred* is the same word. Gr. *ἐκατόν* has prefixed *ἐ-*, for *εἷν*, 'one.'

15. **The Hundreds** present few difficulties. On *trē-centī*, see 10 above. *Quadrīgentī*, *octīgentī* (for *quattuor-*, *octō-*) have borrowed the *-ing-* from *quīngentī* (for *\*quīnq-gentī*; § 105. 1) and *septīgentī* (for *\*septem-gentī*), where *-ing-* developed regularly. *Sescentī* is for *sex-centī*, according to § 105. 1. *Sexcentī*, which also occurs, is the result of 'Re-composition' ; § 87. 3. On *g* for *c* in *-gentī*, see above, 11.

16. **Mille**. — The most probable etymology of this word is that which connects it with Greek *χίλια*, Doric *χήλια* (for *\*χέσλια*), 'thousand.' The Indo-European form of this was *\*ghesliā*, which in Latin would regularly develop as *\*hēliā* (§§ 89 ; 97. 3. A.), and, by assimilation (§ 90), *\*hīliā*. The initial *m* would represent *sm-*, weak form of the root *sem-*, 'one,' seen in *sem-per*, *sem-el*, *sim-plex*, *sin-gulī*. \* Cf. also Greek *μ-ία* for *\*(σ)μία*. Hence originally in Latin *\*sm(h)īliā*, 'one thousand.' On *m* for initial *sm-*, see § 104. 1. *b*).

### Ordinals.

184. 1. **Prīmus** for *\*pris-mos* is a Superlative formation ; § 89.  
 2. **Secundus** is from *sequor*, hence originally : 'the following.'  
 3. **Tertius** is not clear in its relation to *trēs*.  
 4. **Quārtus**, **Quīntus**, **Sextus** are formed from the respective cardinals by adding *-tus*.  
 5. **Septimus**, **Decimus** are probably for an original *\*septm-mos*, *\*decn-mos*; see § 102. 1.

6. **Octāvus** is for an earlier \**octōvus*.

7. **Nōnus** is for \**noven-os*; cf. § 183. 9.

8. **Vīcēsīmus** and the other tens are formed with the suffix *-timo-*, i.e. *vīcēsīmus* for \**vicent-timos*; § 108. 1.

9. **Centēsīmus** and the **Hundreds**. — Inasmuch as the element *-ēsīmus* was common to all the tens, it came to be felt as an independent ordinal suffix, and was appended to the stems of the hundreds, *centum*, *ducentī*, etc. The suffix *-timo-* would have given \**centum-tīmus*, or else \**cēsīmus* for \**cent-tīmus*.

10. **Millēsīmus** follows the analogy of the hundreds.

### Distributives.

185. 1. **Singulī**, from the stem *syn-klo-*, shows the weak form of the root *sem-*, 'one,' seen in *sem-el*, 'once,' *sim-plex*, *sem-per*, etc.

2. The other Distributives are formed with the suffix *-no-*, e.g. *bīnī* for \**bis-nī*; *trīnī* for \**tris-nī*. Beginning with *septēnī*, the Distributives are formed by the suffix *-ēnī*, which is borrowed from *sēnī* (for \**secs-nī*; §§ 105. 1; 89). The cardinal form to which this suffix is added, usually loses its final syllable, sometimes the last two syllables, e.g. *sept(em)ēnī*, *nov(em)ēnī*; *dēnī*, *vīcēnī*.

### Multiplicatives.

186. 1. **Semel**, 'once,' is from the root *sem-*; § 185. 1.

2. **Bis** is for *dvīs*, preserved in the Glosses of Festus; § 104.

2. c). Cf. Greek δῖς.

3. **Ter** is for \**tris* (cf. Gr. τρίς) in unaccented position. The sequence of development would be \**tris*, \**tr̥s*, \**tr̥r*, *ter*; §§ 106. 3; 100. 3.

4. **Quater** is for \**quatur*, with *e* for *u*, owing to association with *ter*.

5. The other Multiplicatives are formed by the suffix *-iēns*, *-iēs* (see § 20. 2), which is variously explained. Some see in it the Participle of *eō*, so that *sex-iēns* would mean literally 'going six.' Others identify it with the Sanskrit suffix *-yant*.



PRONOUNS.<sup>1</sup>

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

**187. First Person.** — 1. *The Nominative Singular, ego*, for earlier *egō* (§ 88. 3), represents an Indo-European \**egō*.

2. *The Genitive Singular, meī*, is simply the Genitive Singular Neuter of the Possessive *meus*, used substantively.

3. *The Dative Singular, mihi*, is probably descended from an Indo-European \**megh-oi* or \**megh-ei*, Locative. This would regularly appear in Latin as \**mehī* (§§ 97. 3. A ; 81. 2). The change of *ě* to *ĩ* took place first when \**mehī* was in unaccented position ; § 73. 2. On the shortening of the final *ĩ*, see § 88. 3. *Mī* may be a contraction of *mihi* or may be identical with Greek *μοί* (also Locative).

4. *The Accusative and Ablative Singular, mē*, was *mēd* in early Latin. Possibly *mēd* was originally Ablative only, with the case-ending discussed in § 130. Before an initial consonant *mēd* would become *mē*, remaining *mēd* before vowels. Assuming that the original Accusative Singular was *mē*, the existence of *mē* and *mēd* side by side in the Ablative would naturally lead to the rise of *mēd* by the side of the already existing *mē* in the Accusative.

5. *Nominative and Accusative Plural, nōs*, is apparently an inherited Indo-European formation.

6. *Genitive Plural.* — *Nostrum, nostrī* are the Genitive Singular and Genitive Plural of the Possessive Pronoun used with substantive force.

7. *Dative and Ablative Plural.* — *Nōbīs* has apparently borrowed its termination *-bīs* from *vōbīs* ; see below.

**188. Second Person.** — The Indo-European stem was *te-*, with weak grade *tu-*. A collateral form *te-* also appears.

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<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. §§ 407-459 ; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. vii ; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 89, 90.

1. *Nominative Singular*. — *tū* corresponds to German *dū*, Greek *τῦ* in Homeric *τῦν*.

2. *Genitive Singular*. — *Tuī*, like *meī* (§ 187. 2) is the Genitive of the Possessive Pronoun used substantively.

3. *Dative Singular*. — *Tibi* is for an earlier *\*tēbi*; on *i* for *ē*, see under *mihi*, § 187. 3. The origin of the termination *-bi* is uncertain. On the shortening of the final *-ī*, see § 88. 3.

4. *Accusative and Ablative Singular*. — *Tē* is for earlier *tēd*. On the origin and relation of the two formations, see § 187. 4.

5. *Nominative and Accusative Plural*. — *Vōs* represents an Indo-European formation.

6. *Genitive Plural*. — *Vestrum*, *vestrī* are of the same formation as *nostrum*, *nostrī*; see § 187. 6. *Vostrum*, *vostrī*, for *vestrum*, *vestrī*, result from association with *nostrum*, *nostrī*.

7. *Dative and Ablative Plural*. — *Vōbīs* is formed with the suffix *-bīs*, the relation of *-bīs* in *vō-bīs* to *-bī* in *tī-bī* being perhaps determined by that of *illīs* to *illī*; *istīs* to *istī*, etc.

#### THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

189. The stem of the Reflexive is *\*se-*, with the collateral form *\*se-*.

1. *Genitive*. — *Suī*, like *meī* and *tuī*, is the Genitive Singular of the Possessive used substantively.

2. *Dative*. — *Sibi*, earlier *sibī*, is for *\*sebī*. See under *mihi*, § 187. 3. On the shortening of the final *ī*, see § 88. 3.

3. *Accusative and Ablative*. — *Sē* is for earlier *sēd*. See on *mē*, § 187. 4.

#### THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

190. These are formed by appending *-os* (*-us*) to the stems of the Personal Pronouns.

1. *Me-us* is regular. The Vocative Singular *mī* is probably in origin a Dative of Reference of the Personal Pronoun.

2. *Tu-us* is from the stem *tev-*, whence originally *\*tev-os*, later *tovos* (§ 73. 3), preserved in early Latin. In enclitic position *ov*

became *u*, whence *tuos*, *tuus*; see § 103. 4. With Latin *\*tev-os*, cf. Homeric Greek *τέ(φ)ος*.

3. *Su-us* is from the stem *sev-*, whence originally *\*sev-os*, later *sovos* (73. 3) preserved in early Latin. In enclitic position, e.g. *pátrēm sovom*, *ov* became *ŭ*, whence *suos*, *suus*; see § 103. 4. With primitive Latin *\*sev-os* cf. Homeric Greek *έφός* for *\*σέφός*. The weak form of the root *sev-* was *sv-*. It is this which appears in Greek *ός* for *σφός*, and traces are present also in Latin, e.g. in such forms as *sīs* (Dat.-Abl. Plu.), for *\*svīs* (root *svo-*), found in early Latin.

According to another view *suus* is an independent formation, collateral with *sovos*.

#### THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

##### Hīc.

191. 1. The stem of *hīc* was *ho-*, *hā-*. To the regular case-forms of this stem was added the suffix *-ce*, often reduced to *-c*; *-ce* itself represents a pronominal stem meaning 'here.'

##### 2. Nominative Singular.

a) Masculine. In *hīc*, the first part, *hī-*, is probably for *ho + i*, a formative element recognized elsewhere in the inflection of this pronoun. Inasmuch as *oi* in accented syllables regularly becomes *ū* (see § 81. 1), *hī-* for *\*hoi*, must have arisen in combinations where the pronoun was proclitic. Cf. *quī* for *\*quo-i*. By the side of *hīc* we find *hēc* in early Latin. The relation of this to *hīc* is difficult to determine. Possibly *\*hēc*, from *he-* (Ablaut of *ho-*; § 64) was the original form, whence *hēc* in unaccented syllables (§ 73. 2). Some find this *\*hec* in one of the Scipio inscriptions CIL. i. 32 *hec cepit*; but *e* here may be *ē*, which in early Latin sometimes stands for an open *ī*, so that *hēc* would simply be a graphical variation of *hīc*.

b) Feminine. *Hacc* for *\*hā-i-c(e)*, presents the formative element, *-i-*, appended to an original *\*hā* (cf. *\*portā*).

c) Neuter. *Hōc* is for *\*hod-c(e)*, in which *-d* is a case-ending

peculiar to the Pronominal Declension. The long quantity of the *o* is difficult to account for. Some have thought that the *o* was really short, and that the ante-consonantal form was *hōc*, e.g. *hōc templum* for *\*ho(d)c templum* (§ 105. 1), while the ante-vocalic form was *hocc*, e.g. *hocc erat*.

3. *Genitive Singular*.—The earliest form of the Genitive Singular was *\*hoi-os*, whence *hoius*, preserved in early Latin. This possibly developed a parasitic *j* which became permanent, producing *\*hoijus*, *hūjus* (§ 81. 1). In the primitive *\*hoi-os*, *-os* was the Genitive ending discussed in § 138, while *hoi-* may be *ho-* + the formative element *i* seen in the Nominative.

4. *Dative Singular*.—The earliest form of the Dative Singular seems to have been *hoi-c*. The causes which produced *huic* from this are uncertain.

5. *Accusative Singular*.—*Hunc*, *hanc* are simply for earlier *\*ho-m-ce*, *\*ha-m-ce*, with obvious phonetic changes.

6. *Ablative Singular*.—*Hōc*, *hūc* for earlier *\*hōd-c(e)*, *\*hād-c(e)* represent the same Ablative formation as regularly seen in *ā-* and *o-*stems; §§ 118; 130.

7. *Plural Forms*.—These all follow the regular termination of *ā-* and *o-*stems, except the Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter, *haec*, where *-ai*, *-ae* (instead of *-a*) represents a termination of the Pronominal Declension.

### Is.

192. 1. The root of this pronoun is *ei-*, weak form *ĭ-* (§ 62). By appending the suffixes *-o-* and *-ā* we get the stems *ejo-*, *ejā-*, or (by disappearance of the intervocalic *j*) *eo-*, *eā-*.

2. *Nominative Singular*.

a) Masculine. *Is* shows the root in the weak form with the case-ending *-s*.

b) Feminine. *Ea* is for *\*ej-ā*; see above, 1.

c) Neuter. *Id* shows the weak form of the root with the Pronominal case-ending *-d*.

3. *Genitive Singular*.—The earliest formation is thought to have been *eci* (Locative), for \**ej-ei* (stem *ejo-*). •To this was added the Genitive ending *-os* (*-us*), giving \**čěj-os*, \**ēj-os*, *ėjus*.

4. *Dative Singular*.—*Eī* for \**e-ei*, earlier \**ej-ei*, was in formation a Locative from the stem *čjo-* (see 1). In the Pronouns the Locative served not only as Dative, but also as Genitive. But the Genitive (see 3) has added a further suffix for the purpose of differentiation.

5. *Accusative Singular*.—*Eum*, *eam* represent an earlier \**čjom*, \**ėjam* (see 1).

6. *Ablative Singular*.—*Eō* and *cā*, earlier *eōd*, *cād*, were formed from the stems \**čjo-*, *čjā-*. The case-ending is the same as that of *ā-* and *ō-*stems.

7. *Plural Cases*.—These are all formed regularly from the stems \**čjo-*, *čjā-*.

8. *Idem* is simply *is* with the suffix *-dem*.

### Iste, Ille, Ipse.

193. These three pronouns presumably contain in their second syllable the Indo-European pronoun \**so*, 'he'; \**sā*, 'she'; \**tod*, 'that.' But by association and analogy the second element has become much modified.

194. *Iste*. The first syllable of *iste* is of uncertain origin. It was apparently an unchangeable element. By the addition of \**so*, \**sā*, \**tod*, would arise \**isso*, \**issa*, \**istod*. The regular Accusative of \**so* was \**tom*, \**tām*, \**tod* (cf. Greek τόν, τάν, τό(δ)), whence \**istom*, \**istām*, \**istod*. The preponderance of forms with *t* eventually caused \**issa* to become *ista* and \**isso* to become \**isto*, later *iste* after the analogy of *ille*, *ipse*.

195. *Ille*. If *olle* was the original of *ille*, as is usually held, the change from *o* to *i* can be accounted for only on the ground of adaptation to such forms as *iste*, *ipse*, *is*. *Olle*, however, may be

for *\*ol-so*, *\*ol-se*, whence *olle* (§ 106. 3). The Feminine would similarly have been *\*ol-sā*, *olla*. The Neuter would have been *\*ol-tod*, and the Accusative *\*oltom*, *\*oltām*, *\*oltod*. Then the forms with *ll* are assumed to have gained the supremacy over those with *lt*.

**196.** *Iipse*. *I-* here seems the root of *is* (cf. early Latin *eāpse*, *eumpse*, *eōpse*, etc.), while *-pse* may be for *-pe-se* by Syncope (§ 92); *-se* would then represent an original *so* (§ 193). No traces of *t*-forms (§ 194) appear; the *-se*, *-sa* of the Nominative have extended to the other cases. The Neuter, *ipsum* (instead of *\*ipsud*), shows transition to the Noun Declension.

**197. Declension of Iste, Ille, Ipse.**—With the exception of the forms *istud*, *illud* already mentioned, and the Genitive and Dative Singular, these all show the usual terminations of the Noun Declension. The Genitives *istius*, *illius*, *ipsius* are formed by appending *-os* (*-us*) to *istī*, *illī*, *ipsī*, Locatives from the stems *isto-*, *illo-*, *ipso-*. These Locative formations served originally as both Dative and Genitive in the Pronouns. Later the Genitive was differentiated from the Dative; § 192. 3.

### The Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite Pronouns.

**198.** 1. These are all formed from the same root, which appears as *quī-*, *quō-*, *quā-*.

2. *Nominative Singular.*—*Quis* shows the stem *qui-* with the case-ending *-s*. *Quī* is for *quo* + *i*, a formative element which appears elsewhere in the Pronominal Declension; *oi* in accented syllables regularly becomes *ū*, but *ī* for *oi* in *quī* may perhaps be explained by the enclitic character of the word. *Quae* is the regular Feminine of the Relative. The formation is the same as seen in *hae-c* (§ 191. 2. b). *Qua*, which appears in the Indefinite Pronoun, follows the Noun Declension. *Quo-d* and *qui-d* append the regular pronominal termination to their respective stems.

3. *Genitive Singular*. — *Cūjus*, for earlier *quoius*, \**quoios*, seems best explained like *hūjus*; § 191. 3.

4. *Dative Singular*. — *Cui* seems to have developed in the first century of the Christian era from the earlier *quoi*; see § 14. *Quoi* was probably a Locative formation.

5. *Accusative Singular*. — *Quem* for \**qui-m* has followed the analogy of *ī*-stems having *-em* for *-im*, e.g. *turrem*, *ovem*, etc.; § 152.

6. *Ablative Singular*. — Besides the regular *quō*, *quā*, *quō*, which present no peculiarities, we find *quī* used for all genders and (in early Latin) for both numbers. This may have been a genuine Ablative form (*quī* for \**quīd*), or an Instrumental.

7. *Plural Forms*. — *Quae* is analogous to *haec*; § 191. 7. The Dative and Ablative *quīs* is from the stem *quo-* (§ 133); it has no formal connection with *quibus*.

### Pronominal Adjectives.

199. Several Adjectives of pronominal meaning have adopted also the Pronominal Declension in the Genitive and Dative Singular, viz. *alius*, *alter*; *uter*, *neuter*; *ūllus*, *nūllus*; *sōlus*, *tōtus*, *ūnus*. *Alius* takes also the pronominal *-d* in the Neuter Singular.

## CONJUGATION.<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTORY.

200. As compared with Greek and Sanskrit, the Latin in its verb-system exhibits extensive deviations from the original conjugational system of the Indo-European parent-speech. The following are the most important points of difference:

1. The Latin has lost the augment, i.e. an initial *e-*, prefixed to the secondary tenses of the Indicative as a symbol of past time.

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<sup>1</sup> See in general: Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. §§ 460–1086; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. viii.; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, §§ 96–118.



2. The strong (*i.e.* unsigmatic) Aorist has disappeared almost entirely.

3. The original Perfect Indicative has become merged with the sigmatic Aorist. The result is a tense whose inflections are derived from both sources, and whose meanings are Aoristic as well as Perfect.

4. The original Middle Voice has disappeared, being superseded by a new inflection peculiar to Latin and Keltic.

5. The Subjunctive and Optative do not appear as separate moods, but have become fused into one, designated Subjunctive.

6. In the Imperfect and Future Indicative of the  $\bar{a}$ - and  $\bar{e}$ -conjugations we meet new formations in *-bam* and *-bō*, which, like the *r*-Passive, are peculiar to Latin and Keltic.

7. In the Personal Endings the distinction between primary and secondary endings has become effaced.

8. Several new tense-formations have developed which are peculiar to Latin, *e.g.* the Perfect Indicative in *-vī* and *-uī*, the Pluperfect Subjunctive in *-issem*, *etc.*

#### FORMATION OF THE PRESENT STEM.

**201. Thematic and Unthematic Formation.**—The Latin inherited two distinct types of Present formation. The one, characterized by the presence of the variable or thematic vowel ( $\check{e}$ ,  $\check{o}$ ) before the Personal Endings, is called 'Thematic'. This type is illustrated by *dīcu-nt* (for *\*dīco-nt*) ; *dīci-tis* (for *\*dīce-tis*). The other type of Present formation has no thematic vowel, and hence is called 'Unthematic'. Unthematic presents originally had Ablaut (§ 62). The strong form of the root appeared in the Singular, the reduced form in the Plural. This change was connected with primitive accentual conditions. In the Singular the accent rested on the root syllable, in the Plural on the endings.

In Greek, the Unthematic Conjugation is represented by the  $-\mu$  verbs ( $\tau\acute{\iota}-\theta\eta-\mu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}-\theta\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ), while  $-\omega$  verbs are thematic, *e.g.*  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma-\omega-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma-\epsilon-\tau\epsilon$ .

## Classification of Present Formations.

## A. UNTHEMATIC PRESENTS.

202. Unthematic Presents are but scantily represented in Latin; for the most part they have passed over into the thematic inflection. The following verbs are the chief representatives of the class:

1. **Dō**, *dā-s*, *dāt* (for earlier *dāt*); Plural *dā-mus*, *dā-tis*, *dānt*.

2. **Eō**. — The two forms of the root were *ei-* (strong), and *-i* (weak). The primitive inflection was probably:

<i>*ei-ō</i>	<i>*ī-mos</i> (Gr. <i>ἴμεν</i> )
<i>*ei-s</i>	<i>*ī-tis</i> (Gr. <i>ἴτε</i> )
<i>*ei-t</i>	<i>*i-nt</i>

In the First Singular *\*eiō* regularly became *eō* (§ 103. 1); *\*eis* became *īs* (§ 82); and *\*eit*, *īt*, later *īt*. The Plural seems to have early abandoned the weak form of the root in favor of the strong; *īmus*, *ītis*, *eunt*, therefore, represent *\*ei-mos*, *\*ei-tis*, *\*ei-ont*.

3. **Sum**. — The strong form of the root is *es-*, the weak *s-*. The original conjugation, therefore, was probably:

<i>*es-m</i>	<i>*s-mos</i>
<i>*es-s</i>	<i>*s-tis</i>
<i>es-t</i>	<i>*s-nt</i>

The historical forms show considerable deviation from this. Traces of *\*ess* are seen in the regular use of *es* as long in early Latin verse. The presumption is that *ess* represents Plautus's pronunciation. The First Singular *sum* probably represents a special thematic formation *\*s-o-m*; and of the same formation are *su-mus* for *\*s-o-mos* and *sunt* for *s-o-nt*. The Second Plural *es-tis* is formed from the strong root, like the Second Singular. Enclitic forms *'s* and *'st* sometimes occur for the Second and Third Singular. These are often joined in writing with a previous word, e.g. *bonumst* = *bonum 'st*; *morast* = *mora 'st*. The usage is poetic and colloquial.

4. **Edō.** — Unthematic forms occur only in the Second and Third Singular, and in the Second Plural. The root shows no Ablaut, but appears everywhere as *ed-* or, by euphonic change, as *ēs-* for *\*ēd-t-* (§ 108. 1); here *ēd-* represents a stronger form of the root than *ed-*.

5. **Ferō.** — The unthematic inflection is only partially preserved, viz. in *fer-s*, *fer-t*, *fer-tis*.

6. **Volō.** — The only forms which are certainly unthematic are *vult* and *vultis* (earlier *volt*, *voltis*). The root in the Singular was normally *\*vel-* (cf. *vel-im*, etc.), but *\*vel-t* became *volt* after the analogy of *vol-tis*, for *v<sub>l</sub>-tis*, from weak root *v<sub>l</sub>-* (§ 100. 1). The Second Singular *vīs* is not for *\*vel-s*, but comes from the root *vei-*, also meaning 'wish'; cf. *in-vītus*. *Nōlō* is for *\*ne volō*, and *mālō* for *\*mag(e)volō*.

#### B. THEMATIC PRESENTS.

**203.** Of these there are the following classes :

**I. Root Class.** — The Present stem consists of the root in its strong form + the thematic vowel *e/o*. More exactly the root appeared in that phase of the strong grade which gave its name to the different Ablaut Series (§ 62). Thus roots of the *ě*-Series had *ě*, *ei(i)*, *eu(u)*; those of the *ā*-Series had *ā*, etc. The *ě*-Series is most fully represented. Examples are :

*ě*-Series : *leg-e/o*, root *leg-*; *teg-e/o*, root *teg-*; *veh-e/o*, root *veh-*; *deic-e/o*, root *deic-* (later *dīc-*; § 82); *feid-e/o*, root *feid-* (later *fīd-*); *deuc-e/o*, root *deuc-* (later *dūc-*).

*ā*-Series : *ag-e/o*, root *ag-*; *caed-e/o*, root *(s)caid-* (§ 68).

*ā*-Series : *vād-e/o*, root *vād-*.

*ē*-Series : *cēd-e/o*, root *cēd-*.

*ō*-Series : *rōd-e/o*, root *rōd-*.

**II. Reduplicating Class.** — The Present Stem is formed by prefixing to the root + the thematic vowel *e/o*, a reduplicating syllable, which consists of the initial consonant of the root + *ī*. The root appears in its weak form (§ 62). Examples : *gi-gn-e/o*,

root *gen-* (cf. Gr. γέ-γεν-ο-μαι); *sī-d-e-/o-* for *sĭ-sd-e-/o-* (§ 89), root *sed-*. *Sistō*, root *stā*, and *se-rō* for *\*sĭ-sō* (§§ 98. 1), root *\*sē-*, do not strictly belong here. They were originally unthematic formations (cf. Gr. (σ)ῖ-στῆ-μι, (σ)ῖ-(σ)ῆ-μι), but have passed in Latin into the thematic conjugation; *bibō* is not properly a reduplicated formation. The root was *pib-* (cf. Skr. *pibāmi*; Gr. ἐπίβδα for *\*ἐπι-πίβ-δα*). The Latin word results from assimilation of *p* to *b*.

III. **T-Class.**—This class, like the preceding, is but sparingly represented in Latin. The root appears in its strong form, to which is appended *t-e-/o-*. Examples are: *nec-t-e-/o-*, *plec-t-e-/o-*, *pec-t-e-/o-*, *flec-t-e-/o-*.

IV. **N-Class.**—The Present Stem is formed with a nasal infix before the final consonant of the root; to this is appended the thematic vowel *e-/o-*. The root appears in the weak form. Examples: *find-e-/o-*, root *fid-*; *rump-e-/o-*, root *rup-*; *jung-e-/o-*, root *jug-*. Originally the infix was confined to the Present system, but in some words, as *jungō*, it appears throughout the entire verb, e.g. *jungō*, *jūnxī*, *jūnctus*.

V. **NO-Class.**—To the root in its weak form is added the suffix *n-e-/o-*. Originally verbs of this class were unthematic. The primitive suffix was *nū-* in the Singular, and *nŭ-* in Plural. The Personal endings were appended directly to these suffixes, so that a verb like *sternō*, for example, was once inflected:

*\*ster-nū-ō*

*\*ster-nŭ-mos*

*\*ster-nū-s*

*\*ster-nŭ-tis*

*\*ster-nū-t*

*\*ster-nŭ-nt*

But *\*ster-nu-mos*, *\*sternutis*, *\*sternunt(i)* regularly developed phonetically to *sternimus*, *sternitis*, *sternunt*. These forms were identical with the thematic inflection, and hence led to *sternō*, *sternis*, *sternit* in the Singular, after the analogy of *dīcimus*, *dīcitis*, *dīcunt* to *dīcō*, *dīcis*, *dīcit*. Other examples are *sper-nō*, *temnō*, *li-nō*, *si-nō*, *tollō* for *\*tl-nō* (§ 100. 1).

VI. **SCO-Class.**—The Present stem is formed by appending *scē-/o-* to the root, e.g. *hī-scō*, *glī-scō*, *crē-scō*, (*g*)*nō-scō*, *poscō* for \**porc-scō*, *suēscō* for \**suēd-scō*.

Many secondary formations also occur, as *gemī-scō*, *tremē-scō*; especially derivatives from contract verbs, as *flōrēscō* from *flōrcō*; *lābāscō* from *lābō*; and even from nouns and adjectives, as *lapi-dēscō*, *rōrēscō*, *dūrēscō*.

VII. **JO-Class.**—The Present Stem is formed by appending the suffix *jē-/o-* to a root or stem. Several different formations must be distinguished.

a) *jē-/o-* Presents from roots ending in a consonant. Here *j* becomes *i*, e.g. *jac-iō* for \**jac-jō*; *cap-iō* for \**cap-jō*, and all the so-called verbs in *-iō* of the Third Conjugation. Some verbs originally of this formation have passed over into the inflection of contract verbs in *-iō*, *-īre* (see *b*, below), e.g. *veniō*, *venīre*.

b) *jē-/o-* Presents from roots and stems ending in a vowel. The *j*, here becoming intervocalic, disappears and the concurrent vowels (except in the First Singular of *ē-* and *ī-*verbs) regularly contract. Examples:

1) Monosyllabic roots: *implē-mus* for \**implē-jo-mos*, root *plē-*; *intrāmus* for \**intrājōmos*, root *trā-*.

2) Dissyllabic verb-stems: *domāmus* for \**do-mājo-mos*, stem *domā-*.

3) Noun and Adjective stems in *-ā*, *ē*, *ī*: *cūrāmus*, stem *cūrā-*; *rubēmus*, stem *rubē-*; *fīnīmus*, stem *fīnī-*.

These *ā*-contracts form the so-called First Conjugation, the *ē*- and *ē*-contracts the Second Conjugation, and the *ī*-contracts the Fourth Conjugation.

c) Causatives in *ejē-/o-*, e.g. *mon-eō*, *doc-eō*, *torr-eō*. These all take the *o*-phase of the strong form of the root (§ 64). They regularly suffer contraction and form a part of the Second Conjugation.

d) Verbs in *-ojo-* probably once existed in Latin, but have disappeared. Thus *arō*, *arāre* was probably originally \**aroō* (for

\**arojō*) ; cf. Gr. ἀρόω. The adjective *aegrōtus* is likewise possibly to be referred to an original \**aegrō*.

## TENSE FORMATION IN THE INDICATIVE.

### The Imperfect.

**204.** The termination *-bam* in the Imperfect Indicative is plausibly explained as representing an Indo-European Aorist, \**bhvām*, from the root *bhu-*. This seems to have been appended to some oblique case of a noun derived from the stem of the verb. The primitive formation would be represented by \**amābhvām*, \**monēbhvām*, \**legēbhvām*, \**audībhvām*. On *b* for *bh* in the interior of words, see § 97. 1. *b* ; *bhv-* regularly becomes *b*, e.g. *superbus* for \**super-bhv-os*. This theory of the origin of the Latin Imperfect finds confirmation in Slavonic, where the Imperfect consists of a case-form of a verbal noun + the past tense of the verb 'to be.'

Early Latin has both *-ībam* and *-iēbam* in verbs of the Fourth Conjugation. The ending *-iēbam*, however, is later in origin than *-ībam*, and was borrowed from *iō*-verbs of the Third Conjugation, e.g. *capīēbam*.

Some have thought that the element preceding the *-bam* in the Imperfect was an old Infinitive. Cf. *ī-licet*, lit. 'it is permitted to go' ; *scī-licet*, 'it is permitted to know' ; *vidē-licet*, 'it is permitted to see' ; also such compounds as *arē-faciō*, 'to make dry.'

*Eram* for earlier \**es-ām* (§ 98. 1) exhibits the same praeterite formation as that assumed for \**bhv-ām* in *amābam*, etc.

### The Future.

**205. 1.** *The Future in -bō.*—The Future in *-bō* is analogous to the Imperfect in *-bam* ; *-bō* is probably the Present of the root *bhu-*, so that *amābō* (for \**amā-bhvō* ; § 204) literally means 'I become loving.' Cf. the analogous German *ich werde lieben*. On *amā-*, *monē-* in this formation, see § 204. The Future in *-bō* is

found also in verbs of the Fourth Conjugation in early Latin, *e.g.* *scībō*, *audībō*.

2. *The Future in -am*.—This formation, regular in the Third and Fourth Conjugations, is in reality a Subjunctive, or rather two Subjunctives, that have taken on Future force. The 1st Singular in *-am* (for *\*-ām*) is an *ā*-Subjunctive; the remaining forms are *ē*-Subjunctives. See §§ 221; 222.

3. *The Future in -sō*.—This formation appears in such archaic forms as *dīxō*, *faxō*, which are in reality Aorist Subjunctives that have taken on Future force. The Future of *sum*, *erō*, is similarly a Present Subjunctive, for *\*es-ō* (§ 98. 1); *cf.* Homeric Greek εἶ(σ)ω, Attic ὦ (by contraction).

### The Perfect.

#### THE REDUPLICATION.

206. 1. *In Verbs beginning with a Consonant*.—The Reduplication in such verbs regularly consisted of the initial consonant + *e*. Where the root began with *sc*, *sp*, or *st*, the *sc*, *sp*, or *st* appeared in the reduplicating syllable, but the *s* was lost in the root syllable, *e.g.* *sci-ci-dī* (early Latin), *spopondī*, *ste-tī*. The reduplicating vowel, *e*, was assimilated to the root vowel when the latter was the same in the Perfect as in the Present, *e.g.* *mo-mordī*, *sci-cidī*, *pu-pug-ī*, *dī-dic-ī*, *spo-pond-ī*; but the original forms with *e* are often found in early Latin, *e.g.* *memordī*, *pepugī*, *spepondī*, FHEFHAKED CIL. xiv. 4123.

The Reduplication has disappeared very largely in Latin, yet traces of its earlier presence are sometimes distinguishable, *e.g.* in *rettulī* for *\*ré-(te)tulī* (§ 92); *repperī* for *ré-(pe)perī*; *reccidī* for *\*ré-(ce)cidī*. In the same way *fidī*, *scidī* represent an earlier *\*fēfidī*, *\*sēcēcidī* (*cf.* early Latin *scicidī*).

2. *In Verbs beginning with a Vowel*.—The Reduplication here consisted in prefixing *e*. Only a few verbs have preserved it, *e.g.* *ēgī* for *\*e-agī*; *ēdī* for *\*e-edī*; *-ēpī* (for *\*e-apī*) in *coepī*, for *\*co-ēpī*, root *ap-*; *ēmī* for *\*ē-ēmī*.



## STEM FORMATION OF THE PERFECT.

*A. The Primitive Perfect.*

207. In the Indo-European parent-speech the accent rested on the root syllable in the Singular of the Perfect, but on the Personal Ending in the Plural. It was probably owing to these primitive accentual conditions that the strong form of the root appeared in the Singular, the reduced form in the Plural. The special phase of the strong form appearing in the Singular was that containing *ō* or *ō̄* (see the various Ablaut Series, § 62 ff.). Several of the Indo-European languages, as Sanskrit, Greek, the Teutonic, have preserved with more or less fulness the original Ablaut of the root in the Perfect; <sup>1</sup> but in Latin there has been a uniform 'levelling'; either the strong form has invaded the Plural (the usual sequel), or the weak form has invaded the Singular. Examples of the former process may be seen in *totondimus*, *spopondimus*; of the latter in *-ce-čīd-ī*, *tu-tūd-ī*. In most Latin verbs, however, other formations have largely displaced both of those just mentioned. This has come partly as the result of phonetic changes, partly from the workings of analogy. The whole subject is too intricate for detailed consideration here. See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 494 f.

*B. The Perfect in -sī.*

208. The Perfect in *-sī*, which appears chiefly in roots ending in labial, dental, and guttural mutes, is by origin an Aorist which has passed over to the Perfect inflection. Cf. Latin *dīx-ī* with

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, Greek

<i>oīd-a</i>	<i>īd-μεν</i>
<i>oīs-θα</i>	<i>īs-τε</i>
<i>oīd-e</i>	<i>īs-ασι,</i>
<i>vait</i>	<i>vit-um</i>
<i>vaist</i>	<i>vit-up</i>
<i>vait</i>	<i>vit-un</i>

or Gothic

Greek ἔ-δειξ-α. Some verbs have preserved both the true Perfect and this Aorist Perfect, e.g. *pepercī* and *parsī*; *pupugī* and (in compounds) *-pūnxī*; *pepigī* and (in compounds) *-panxī*.

### C. The Perfect in *-vī*.

209. The Perfect in *-vī* is a new formation which has developed in the separate history of Latin itself. The origin of this suffix is not clear; according to one theory, *-vī* is borrowed from such Perfects as *fāvī*, *lāvī*, *fōvī*, *mōvī*, *vōvī*, *jūvī*, where *v* really belongs to the stem.

### D. The Perfect in *-uī*.

210. The Perfect in *-uī* is a development of that in *-vī*; *-vī* is thought to have been added to extended forms of the root, e.g. *\*gen-e-vī* (root *gen-*), *\*dom-a-vī* (root *dom-*), whence *genuī*, *domuī*; § 103. 4. From forms like these the category might easily extend itself. Its diffusion was probably assisted by the existence of such Perfects as *fui*, *plui* for early *fūvī* (Ennius), *plūvī*, etc.

## THE INFLECTION OF THE PERFECT.

211. In its inflection the Latin Perfect presents a mingling of Perfect and Aorist forms. The exact determination of the details of this fusion furnishes one of the most difficult problems of historical Latin grammar; the following explanations can claim only a certain degree of probability.

212. The type of Perfect inflection existing in Latin prior to the fusion of Perfect and Aorist may be partially reconstructed as follows:

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>vīdī</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>vīd-i-mus</i>
2. ?	?
3. <i>*vīde</i>	<i>*vīd-ent</i> (for <i>*vīd-nt</i> )

<sup>1</sup> No attempt is here made to discuss Ablaut changes.

Of these forms *vīdī* in the First Singular represents an Indo-European middle, *\*vid-ai*. The Second Singular and Second Plural cannot be conjectured with any degree of satisfaction.

**213.** The type of Aorist with which the true Perfect was ultimately fused was a formation consisting of the root + the suffix *-es-* (*-is-*; § 73. 2), to which the Personal Endings were appended directly (unthematic formation; § 201). The inflection may be reconstructed as follows:

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>*vīd-er-em</i> (for <i>*vīd-es-ŋ</i> ; §§ 98. 1; 102. 1)	<i>vīd-i-mus</i> (for <i>*vīd-is-mos</i> )
2. <i>*vīd-is</i> (for <i>*vīd-is-s</i> )	<i>vīd-is-tis</i>
3. <i>*vīd-is-t</i>	<i>*vīd-er-ent</i> (for <i>*vīd-is-ŋt</i> )

**214.** The identity of the First Plural of the Perfect and Aorist seems to have furnished the starting-point for the formal fusion of the two tenses; *vīdistis* in the Second Plural is the Aorist form; so is *vīdērunt* in the Third Plural, with *\*-ent* changed to *-unt* after the analogy of other tenses, e.g. *regunt*, *amāb-unt*; *ē* (for *ě*) in *-ērunt* is of uncertain origin. Probably it was borrowed from the Perfect Third Plural in *-ēre*, which is certainly a different formation, though not at present well understood. The scansion *-ērunt*, frequent in poetry, preserves the earlier quantity. In the Singular, *vīdī* has already been explained as originally a Middle which has assumed the function of the Active. The Second Singular *vīdistī* is difficult of explanation. Possibly the primitive form of the Second Singular Perfect may have been *\*vīstī*. If so *vīdistī* may be a contamination of *\*vīstī* (Perfect) and *\*vīdis* (Aorist), helped on by the influence of the Second Plural *vīdistis*. The assumption of a Perfect *\*vīstī*, however, involves difficulties. The Personal Ending of the Second Singular Perfect was *-tha* in Indo-European. Cf. Greek *οἶσθα* for *\*φοῖδ-θα*. In Latin *-thā* should become *-tē* (§ 71. 1). Influence of the Second Singular Middle ending *\*-sai* (= Latin *-sī*) has been suggested. The Third Singular *\*vīde* early assumed the regular Personal Ending,

*t*, of the other tenses. This gave *\*vīdet*, *vīdit*. Some have thought that in the true Perfect in Latin the primitive Third Singular was *\*vīdī* (a Middle form, like the First Singular). Some evidence in favor of this view is found in the frequent long quantity of *-it* in early Latin poetry.

### The Pluperfect.

**215.** The Pluperfect Indicative in *-eram* is a development of the Aorist mentioned above in § 213. The starting-point of development was the First Singular. This was first *\*vīdĕrem*, which became *vīderam*, apparently under the influence of the Imperfect in *-bam*. The remaining inflection also follows the Imperfect.

### The Future Perfect.

**216.** The Future Perfect Indicative is an Aorist Subjunctive. Thus *vīderō* is for a primitive *\*veid-es-ō* (§ 98. 1), in which *-es-* is the same Aorist suffix as already mentioned in §§ 213, 215. Greek *εἰδῶ*, which has become a part of the Perfect system, represents the same formation, being for *\*fειδ-εσ-ω*, whence regularly *εἰδ-έω* (Homer), *εἰδῶ* (Attic).

The inflection follows that of Presents in *-ō*, *-is*, *-it*, except in the 3d Plural, which has *-int* instead of *-unt*, probably owing to the influence of the Perfect Subjunctive, with which it regularly agrees in the other persons and numbers.

### THE OPTATIVE.

**217.** There were two Optative formations in Indo-European, a thematic and an unthematic. Greek *λύ-ο-ι-μι* represents the former, *στα-ίη-ν* the latter. In Latin probably only the unthematic type is to be recognized. Owing to the thorough fusion of Optative and Subjunctive (§ 353) all Optative forms are traditionally known as Subjunctives.

**218. Present Optative.** — Only a few forms occur. The special suffix of the unthematic Optative was *-iē-* in the Singular, *-ī-* in the Plural.

Thus the primitive inflection of the Present Optative of the root *es-*, 'to be,' was :

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. <i>*s-iē-m</i> ( <i>siem</i> ; 88. 3)	<i>s-ī-mus</i>
2. <i>s-iē-s</i>	<i>s-ī-tis</i>
3. <i>s-iē-t</i>	<i>*s-ī-nt</i> ( <i>s-i-nt</i> )

The classical inflection of the Singular, *sim*, *sīs*, *sit*, is not original, but is formed after the analogy of the Plural. Similarly in early Latin we find *sīemus*, *sīētis*, *sient* after the analogy of *siem*, *etc.* The weak form of the root, as above, regularly appeared in this formation. Other illustrations of this Optative are *velim* (for *\*vel-iē-m*, after *vel-ī-mus*), *nōlim*, *mālim*, *edim* (*edō*, 'eat'), *du-im*, *possim*.

**219. Aorist Optative.** — The so-called Perfect Subjunctive in *-erim* is by origin an Aorist Optative. The tense is formed by means of the Aorist suffix *-es-* already mentioned in §§ 213, 215, to which is further appended the Optative suffix *iē-*, *ī-* (§ 218). Thus the original inflection of *vīderim* was :

<i>*veid-es-iē-m</i>	<i>*veid-es-ī-mus</i>
<i>*veid-es-iē-s</i>	<i>*veid-es-ī-tis</i>
<i>*veid-es-iē-t</i>	<i>*veid-es-ī-nt</i>

By change of *ei* to *ī* (§ 82) and by rhotacism (§ 98. 1) this gave *\*vīderiēm*, *etc.*, Plural *vīderīmus*. But the *iē* of the Singular was early changed to *ī* after the analogy of the Plural, giving *vīderim*, *vīderis*, *vīderit*. The long vowel was sometimes retained in the (rare) 1st and 2d Plural.

Latin *\*vīderiēm* is identical with Greek εἰδείην (for *\*φειδ-εσ-ιην*), which, like εἰδῶ (see § 216), has become associated with the Perfect system.

Another Aorist formation was by means of the suffix *s* in place of *-is-*. This is seen in *dīxim*, *faxim*, *ausim*, for earlier *\*dīc-s-īē-m*, etc.

### THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

220. Two formations, both descended from Indo-European, are to be recognized. One of these is characterized by the suffix *ā* and is confined exclusively to the Present tense; the other is characterized by the suffix *ē*, and appears not only in the Present, but in the other tenses as well. Both these suffixes take the place of the thematic vowel of the corresponding Indicative formations.

221. *Ā-Subjunctives*. — Examples are *moneam* (for *\*mone-jā-m*), *reg-a-m*, *audiam*, earlier *\*regām*, *\*audiām*; § 88. 2.

### 222. *Ē-Subjunctives*.

1. *Amem* (for *\*amā-jē-m*) evidently has preferred this type, to avoid the identity of Indicative and Subjunctive which would have resulted from the *ā*-formation here; *\*amā-jā-m*, etc., would have given *\*amām*, *\*amās*, *\*amāt*.

2. The so-called Future Indicative of the Third and Fourth Conjugations is (outside the First Singular) a Present Subjunctive of the *ē*-formation which has taken on Future function, e.g. *fer-ē-s*, *audi-ē-s*, etc.

3. The Imperfect Subjunctive also belongs here. There are two types, both Aorists in origin:

a) *-s-* Aorists. Examples are: *es-s-em*, *ferrem* for *\*fer-s-ēm* (§ 106. 3), *vellem* for *\*vel-s-ēm* (§ 106. 3); *amā-r-em* for *\*amā-s-ēm* (§ 98. 1); *monē-r-em* for *\*monē-s-ēm*, *audī-r-em* for *\*audī-s-ēm*.

b) *-es-* Aorists, e.g. *reg-er-em* for *\*reg-es-ēm* (§ 98. 1).

4. The Pluperfect Subjunctive is an *-es-* Aorist, with a second *s* of uncertain origin, i.e. *vīdissem* for *\*vīd-es-s-ēm*.

## THE IMPERATIVE.

## A. Active.

**223. Present, Second Singular.**—The most probable view is that which regards this form as consisting of the simple stem. The Imperative, then, will be analogous to the Vocative, to which it bears in general meaning a strong resemblance. Examples are : *ī, es, fer, leg-e, amā* (for \**amā-je*), *monē* (for \**mone-je*), *audī* (for \**audī-je*). Verbs in *iō* of the Third Conjugation follow the root class (§ 203. 1), e.g. *cape. Dic, dūc, fac* are probably for *dīce, dūce, face* by dropping off the final short *e*.

**224. Present, Second Plural.**—This is formed by adding *-te* to the stem, e.g. *ī-te, fer-te, es-te, legite* (for \**lege-te*; § 73. 2), *amāte, monēte, audīte*.

**225. Future, Second and Third Singular.**—The termination is *-tō*, earlier *-tōd*, appended to the Present Stem, e.g. *ītō, fertō, estō, legitō, etc.* Originally this formation had Plural as well as Singular force. Strictly, too, it was a Present, not a Future; the Future force is a special development of the Latin. The ending *-tōd* is preserved in early Latin, e.g. *licētōd, datōd, violātōd*.

**226. Future, Second and Third Plural.**—The termination of the Second Plural *-tōte* is simply a pluralization of the Singular *-tō*. The Third Plural termination *-ntō* is a new formation (cf. § 225) after the analogy of the relation existing between the Third Singular and Third Plural of the Present Indicative, i.e.

*suntō : estō : : sunt : est*  
*reguntō : regitō : : regunt : regit*  
*amantō : amātō : : amant : \*amāt*

## B. Passive.

**227. The Present.**—The Second Singular ending *-re* represents an original *-so*, so that Latin *seque-re* corresponds exactly to Greek  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon(\sigma)\sigma$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$ . The Second Plural in *-minī* is probably an



old Infinitive which has taken on the function of the Imperative. Cf. the Homeric use of the Infinitive as an Imperative. According to this view Latin *legi-minī* = Greek *λεγέμεναι*, both forms being originally the Dative of a verbal noun with the suffix *-men*. Cf. *ger-men*, Dat. *ger-minī*.

**228. The Future** forms are the result of appending the Passive *-r* (§ 235) to the corresponding Active forms.

#### THE PERSONAL ENDINGS.<sup>1</sup>

##### A. Active.

**229. 1st Singular.** — In the Indo-European parent-speech *-ō* was the termination of the primary tenses of the Thematic Conjugation, while *-mi* was the termination of the Unthematic Conjugation. Secondary tenses had *-m* only. Latin shows no traces of *-mi* (on *sum*, see § 202. 3); *-ō* appears in the Present, Future, and Future Perfect Indicative. Elsewhere in the Indicative and everywhere in the Subjunctive (including some original Optatives) *-m* appears, e.g. *amābam*, *amāveram*, *sim*, *essem*, etc.

**230. 2d Singular.** — The Indo-European endings were *-si* (primary) and *-s* (secondary). Latin *-s* may represent the secondary ending, or original *\*-si* may have lost its final short vowel, so that *legis*, for example, may be either for *\*leg-e-s* or *\*leg-e-si*.

**231. 3d Singular.** — The Indo-European endings were *-ti* (primary) and *-t* (secondary). Apparently in the earliest Latin, *-t* had become *-d*. Cf. early inscriptional forms, e.g. *vhevhaked*, *feced*, *fecid*, *sied*; *-ti*, on the other hand, became *-t* and very early supplanted the *-d* of the secondary tenses. The closely related Oscan dialect exhibits this distinction of *-d* and *-t* assumed for early Latin.

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<sup>1</sup> The endings of the Perfect Indicative and of the Imperative have already been considered in §§ 211 ff., 223 ff.

**232. 1st Plural.** — The only ending appearing in Latin is *-mus*, earlier *\*-mōs*, which seems to stand in Ablaut relation (§ 62) to Greek *-μες* (dialectal).

**233. 2d Plural.** — The Latin ending *-tis* probably represents an Indo-European *-thēs*, which was the ending of the 2d Dual.

**234. 3d Plural.** — The Indo-European endings were *-nti* (primary) and *-nt* (secondary). In the Italic languages *-nti* became *-nt*, while *-nt* became *-ns*. Oscan and Umbrian preserve this distinction, but in Latin, *\*-ns* has disappeared, being everywhere supplanted by *-nt* (for *-nti*).

### *B. Passive.*

**235.** The distinguishing characteristic of the Latin Passive is the presence of final *r*. This formation, in its wide application, is found only in the Italic and Keltic groups of the Indo-European family. Its origin is not clear. Some have connected it with the Sanskrit ending *-re* of the Perfect Middle. One thing is perfectly certain: Latin *r* does not arise from the reflexive *sē* as was formerly held. In general the Latin Passive is an outgrowth of an earlier Middle. With the exception of the 1st Singular and 1st Plural, Middle forms are seen to have been at the basis of the developed inflection.

**236. 1st Singular.** — Where the Active form ends in *-ō*, the Passive is formed by adding *r*, e.g. *regor* (earlier *-ōr*; § 88. 2), *amābor*. Where the Active ends in *-m*, the Passive has *r* instead of *-m*, e.g. *amer*, *amābar*.

**237. 2d Singular.** — This is in origin a Middle, formed with the Indo-European ending *\*-so*, the termination of secondary tenses in the Middle. Thus *seque* is for *\*seque-so* (§ 98. 1). Cf. Greek *ἔπει-(σ)ο*, *ἔπov*. The ending *-ris* arises secondarily from *-re* by further appending *-s*, the ending of the 2d Singular Active.

Thus *sequeris* for *\*sequerĕ-s* (§ 73. 2). This was possibly the result of an effort to distinguish the Indicative 2d Singular from the Imperative.

**238. 3d Singular.**—To the original Middle formation, *e.g.* *\*leg-i-to*, for *\*leg-e-to*, with secondary ending *-to* (*cf.* Greek ἐ-λέγ-ε-το) was added the Passive *-r*, *e.g.* *\*legito-r*, *legitur*.

**239. 1st Plural.**—In place of *-s* of the Active ending *-mus* we have the Passive *-r*, *e.g.* *regimu-r*.

**240. 2d Plural.**—We have here a periphrastic formation; *legiminī*, *etc.*, stand for *legiminī estis*, in which *legiminī* is a Middle Participle of the same type as Greek λεγόμεν-οι. This formation must have originated in the Present Indicative; *legēbāminī*, *legēminī*, *legāminī*, *legerēminī* are all secondary, formed after the analogy of *legiminī*.

**241. 3d Plural.**—The 3d Plural, like the 3d Singular, was originally a genuine Middle formation, in *-nto*, the termination of the secondary tenses, *e.g.* *\*legunto* for *\*lego-nto* (*cf.* Greek ἐ-λέγο-ντο). To this was added the Passive *-r*, *e.g.* *\*lego-ntor*, *leguntur*.

#### THE INFINITIVE.

**242.** In Latin, as in other Indo-European languages, the Infinitives are oblique cases of verbal nouns which have become stereotyped by usage. The Dative and Locative cases have contributed most largely to this category.

##### A. Active.

**243. Present.**—This was apparently in origin the Locative of a noun with an *-es-*, *-os-* suffix. Thus *reg-er-e* for a primitive *\*reg-es-i* (§ 141), as though from a Nom. *\*reg-os*. Unthematic verbs appended *-se* (for *-si*), *e.g.* *es-se*, *fer-re*, for *\*fer-se*; *vel-le* for *\*vel-se*.

**244. Perfect.**—The Locative *-s-e* (for *si*) is appended to the *-es-* Aorist stem (§ 213, 215), e.g. *vīd-is-se*.

**245. Future.**—In such forms as *dictūrum esse*, it is probable that originally *dictūrum* was not a participle, but an Infinitive. The form has been plausibly explained as being contracted from *dictū \*erom*, where *dictū* is Supine, and *\*erom* (for *\*es-om*; § 98. 1) the old Infinitive of the root *es-* (*-esse*). This Infinitive is preserved in Oscan and Umbrian, though lost in Latin. The original force of *dictū \*erom* would be ‘to be for saying,’ i.e. ‘to be about to say’ (on *dictū* see § 252. 2). The foregoing explanation accords excellently with the use of *dictūrum* and similar forms without *esse* and (in early Latin) with a Plural subject, e.g. *crēdō inimīcōs meōs hōc dictūrum*, ‘I believe my enemies are for saying this,’ i.e. ‘will say this’ (C. Gracchus, cited by Gellius, i. 7). After the analogy of periphrastic forms, *dictūrum esse* subsequently supplanted *dictūrum*, etc., and thus gave rise to the Future Active Participle in *-ūrus*, *-a*, *-um*.

#### B. Passive.

**246. Present.**—Such forms as *reg-ī*, *dic-ī* are Dative forms; § 139. Other verbs append the Dative ending to *-es-*stems, e.g. *amārī*, *monērī*, *audīrī*, for *\*amā-es-ī*, etc.; so *ferrī* for *\*fer-s-ī*. Cf. § 243. No Passive signification originally attached itself to these Dative Infinitives; at the outset they could not have differed essentially from the Locative Infinitives of the Active. The differentiation into Active and Passive meanings was purely arbitrary.

The Passive Infinitive in *-ier* (archaic and poetical) is of uncertain origin. Some explain *agier*, for example, as for *\*agī-ar*, *ar* being the Preposition seen in *ar-biter*, etc., in a post-positive use. On *-er* for *-ar*, see § 71. 1. Others think that *-er* represents the apocopated Active ending *-ere*. This seems to have been fairly frequent in colloquial Latin, e.g. *biber* for *bibere*; *tanger* for *tangere*. *Agier*, therefore, and similar forms would represent Passive Infinitives with an added Active termination.

**247. Perfect and Future.** — Periphrastic forms are used here, *e.g.* *dictus esse*, *dictum īrī*. The latter consists of the Supine combined with the Passive of *cō* in its impersonal use.

#### THE PARTICIPLES.

**248. Present Active.** — The suffix here is *-nt-*, *e.g.* *-sēns* for *\*-s-nt-s* (§ 102. 1) in *ab sēns*, *prae-sēns*; *regēns* for *\*rege-nt-s*. The oblique cases of *iēns* are formed from the stem *\*ei-o-*, *e.g.* *euntis* for *\*ei-o-ntis*.

**249. Future Active.** — See § 245.

**250. Perfect Passive.** — The suffix was *-tus*, earlier *-tos*, appended originally to the weak form of the root, *e.g.* *dic-tus*, *duc-tus*, *tentus* for *\*tŋ-tos* (§ 102. 1). Where the root ended in *d* or *t*, *ss* or *s* arose phonetically (§ 108. 1), *e.g.* *sessus* for *\*sed-tos*; *usus* for *\*ūt-tos*. By an extension this spurious ending, *-sus*, became appended also to some guttural and liquid stems, *e.g.* *lāp-sus*, *fixus*, *pulsus*.

**251. The Gerundive.** — The origin of the termination *-endus*, *-undus* is not yet determined.

#### GERUND AND SUPINE.

**252. 1. The Gerund.** — The Gerund is probably a development of the Gerundive. Such expressions as *virtūs colenda est* might easily give rise to a *colendum est* (impersonal), while similarly *patriae dēfendendae causā* might generate a *dēfendendī causā*.

**2. The Supine.** — The Supine in *-um* is an Accusative of a Verbal noun formed with the suffix *-tu-*; the Supine in *-ū* is a Locative from the same stem (*cf.* § 163).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ADVERBS AND PREPOSITIONS.

#### ADVERBS.<sup>1</sup>

**253.** Adverbs are, in the main, case-forms which have become stereotyped as the result of highly specialized usage. The cases most frequently thus employed are the Accusative, Ablative, Locative, and Instrumental.

**254. Accusatives.**—These result from various syntactical usages. Thus :

1. Accusative of Result Produced (*Gr.* § 176. 2 ; 3), *e.g.* *multum, plerumque, plurimum, aliquid, facile, fortius, etc.*
2. Appositives, *e.g.* *vicem, partim, etc.*; § 310.
3. Limit of Motion, *e.g.* *forās.*

**255. Ablatives.**—Here belong :

1. Adverbs in *-ē* (for *-ēd*; § 130) from *ō*-stems, *e.g.* *pulchrē, sālē; certissimē.*
2. Adverbs in *-ō* (for *-ōd*; § 130) from *ō*-stems, *e.g.* *certō, continuō.* Cf. early Latin *meritōd.*
3. Adverbs in *-ā* (for *-ād*; § 118) from *ā*-stems, *e.g.* *extrā, suprā, infrā, contrā, suprà, ultrā, citrā, juxtā.* Cf. early Latin *exstrād, suprad.* Many words, clearly Ablative in form, apparently became Adverbs through the medium of Instrumental constructions, *e.g.* *ūnā, rēctā, quā, eā, eādem (sc. viā), etc.* Cf. § 341. 5.

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. ix.

**256. Locatives.** — Here belong :

1. True Locatives, *e.g.* *herī, vesperī, humī, bellī, militiae, domī, postriḍīe* (§§ 126 ; 173), *meriḍīe, diē crāstinī; noctū*; also the Pronominal Adverbs *hī-c, illī-c, isfī-c* (§ 197).

2. Ablative in Locative function, *e.g.* *forīs*.

**257. Instrumentals.** — Here belong :

1. *citō, modō* for *\*citō, \*modō* (§ 88. 3), where *\*-ō* resulted by contraction from *\*cito-ǎ, \*modo-ǎ*. Had these been Ablative (*\*citōd, \*modōd*), the *ō* would not have been shortened upon the disappearance of the *-d*.

2. *benē, malē* for *\*benē, \*malē* (§ 88. 3), where *\*-ē* resulted by contraction from *\*bene-ǎ, \*male-ǎ*. Had these been Ablatives (*\*benēd, \*malēd*), the *-ē* would not have been shortened upon the disappearance of the *-d*.

3. *sponte, forte, repente*.

**258.** Even a few Nominatives have become Adverbs, *e.g.* *adversus; rursus* for *reversus*; *prorsus* for *proversus*.

**259.** Many Adverbs were originally phrases, *e.g.* *dēnuō* for *dē novō* (§ 103. 4); *ilicō* for *in \*stlocō* (§ 89); *admodum*. Some have thought that Adverbs in *-iter* also belong here, *e.g.* *breviter* for *breve iter*, *etc.* Cf. German *kurzweg*.

PREPOSITIONS.<sup>1</sup>

**260.** Prepositions are in the main Adverbs which have come to have special uses in connection with certain cases. Historically they belong to a relatively late period in the development of language. Originally the cases alone sufficed for denoting relations, but as greater precision became necessary, the requisite definiteness of meaning came to be expressed by various Adverbs, which

<sup>1</sup> See especially Lindsay, *Latin Language*, chap. ix.



ultimately crystallized as Prepositions ; yet an independent adverbial usage often remained.

In the earlier period of their employment, Prepositions enjoyed considerably more latitude of usage than later, being freely combined with almost any oblique case ; ultimately, however, most of them became restricted to combination with particular cases. This is truer of Latin, for example, than of Greek, where the older freedom is quite apparent. The Oscan and Umbrian also show greater latitude than Latin.

**261.** *Ā*, *ab*, *abs*, *au-*.—Three historically independent words of identical meaning are here to be recognized :

1. *Ā* is identical with Sanskrit *ā*, West Germanic *ō*.

2. *Ab*, *abs* go back to an Indo-European *\*apo*, Greek *ἀπό*. By loss of the final *o*, this became in Latin *ap-*, seen in *ap-eriō*. But in composition and in phrases before voiced consonants *p* became *b*, e.g. *abdō* for *\*ap-dō*; *ab rādīce* for *\*ap rādīce*, and ultimately the form with *b* supplanted that with *p*. *Abs* is formed from *ab* by appending *-s*, probably the Genitive ending in its weak form (§ 138), an element frequently employed in amplifying prepositional and adverbial formations. Cf. *ex* (= *ec-s*) from *ec-*; *sub-s* (in *suscipiō* for *\*sub-s-cipiō*; § 105. 1) from *sub*; *obs* from *ob*; also Greek *ἐξ* by the side of *ἐκ*; *ἐνς*, whence Attic *ἐς*, by the side of *ἐν*; *ἀμφίς* by the side of *ἀμφί*.

3. *Au-*, Sanskrit *ava*, goes back to an Indo-European *ava*. It appears in Latin only in *aufugiō*, and *auferō* for *\*ava-fugiō*, *\*ava-ferō* by Syncope (§ 92). Cf. *auspex* for *\*av(i)spex*; *augurium*, etc.

4. A form of *\*apo*, with aphæresis of the initial consonant, is *po-*, seen in *pōnō* for *\*po-s(i)nō* (§§ 92; 89); cf. *po-situs*. *Po-* also possibly appears in *po-liō* (root *li-*; cf. *li-nō*), ‘rub off, polish.’

5. A form *af*, found in early inscriptions and occasionally later, is of uncertain origin. It is probably historically distinct from all the preceding words.

**262.** *Ad* is obscure in origin. In early Latin inscriptions we find a form *ar-*, used before *f* and *v* in composition, e.g. *arfuērunt*, *arversus*; also *ar-biter*. Whether *ar-* was a phonetic variant of *ad-*, or a different word, is uncertain.

**263.** *Ambi-*, Greek ἀμφί, is probably an old Locative.

**264.** *Ante* for \**anti*, Greek ἀντί, is probably an old Locative.

**265.** *Apud* seems to be Indo-European \**apo* (§ 261. 2) with an appended *d*.

**266.** *Circum*, *circā*, *circiter* are all connected with the noun *circus*, 'ring, circle, circus'; *circum* is the Accusative Singular, used first as Adverb, later as Preposition; *circā* is probably a late formation after the analogy of *extrā*, *suprā* (§ 255. 3). *Circiter* probably contains the Comparative suffix *-ter* (§ 181). Cf. *inter*, *propter*, *subter*.

**267.** *Cis*, *citrā* are from the root *cī-*, 'this.' On the final *-s* of *cis*, see § 261. 2. *Citrā* has the Comparative suffix (§ 181). On the formation, see § 255. 3.

**268.** *Clam* evidently contains the root of *cēlō*, 'conceal.' The formation is uncertain.

**269.** *Com-* (*cum*), *co-*. — See § 58. *b*).

**270.** *Contrā*. — See § 255. 3.

**271.** *Dē* may be an old Ablative formation for \**dēd*.

**272.** *Ergā*, *ergō* are obscure in etymology and formation. They can have no connection with Greek (ε)ργον, *work*.

**273.** *Ex*, *ec-*, *ef-*, *ē*. See § 105. 2. On the final *s* of *ex* (= *ec-s*), see § 261. 2.

**274.** *Extrā* is formed from *ex* by means of the Comparative suffix *terō-* (§ 181). On the case-formation, see § 255. 3.

**275.** *In* is the unaccented form of Indo-European \**en*, Greek *ἐν*. The original form of the Preposition is seen in early Latin *en-do*. Cf. Greek *ἐνδο-θι*, *ἐν-δον*. Another form of *endo* is *indu-* (*indi-*) seen in *indi-genus*, *ind-olēs*, and in several early Latin words, e.g. *indu-gredi*.

**276.** *Īnfrā*. Cf. *īnferus*, and see § 255. 3.

**277.** *Inter*, *intrā* are formed from *in* by means of the Comparative suffix *-tero-*; §§ 181; 255. 3.

**278.** *Intus* contains the same suffix as seen in *divīnitus*, *funditus*, etc.

**279.** *Jūxtā* is from the stem *jūxtā-*, a Superlative of *jūgis*. For the case-form, see § 255. 3.

**280.** *Ob* is from an Indo-European \**op-i*, a Locative formation kindred with Greek *ἐπ-ί*, to which it stands in Ablaut relation (§ 62). The form *ob* has developed from \**op*, exactly as *ab* from \**ap* (§ 261. 2); yet *op-* appears in *op-eriō*, and is preserved in Oscan.

**281.** *Per* is for an Indo-European \**peri* (Locative). Cf. Greek *περί*.

**282.** *Post*, early Latin *poste*, apparently goes back to a Locative \**posti*.

**283.** *Prae*, *praeter*. — *Prae* is very likely a Locative from *prā-*, an extension of *pr-* (weak form of *per-*). Cf. *prō(d)* from *prō-*. *Praeter* bears the same relation to *prae* as *inter* to *in*; *subter* to *sub*.

**284.** *Prō*, *prō-*, *por-*. — The relation between *prō* and *prō-* (e.g. in *prōfugiō*, *prōficīscor*, *prōtegō*) is uncertain. Very likely *prō* (earlier *prōd*, seen in *prōdesse*, *prōdīre*; § 109. 1) was an Ablative formation, while *prō-* (cf. Gr. *πρό*) represents the simple stem. *Por-*, e.g. in *por-tendō*, *porrigō*, *polliceor* (for \**por-liceor*) may rep-

resent *pŕ-*, weak form of the root *per-* (§ 100. 2), with which all the above words are ultimately connected.

**285. Prope, propter.**—*Prope* is for *pro* + *pe*. Cf. *quip-pe*. *Propter* bears the same relation to *prope* as *inter* to *in*, etc.

**286. Re-, red-.**—*Re-* is the earlier form; the *d* of *red-* is of uncertain origin.

**287. Secundum** is an Accusative from *secundus*, lit. 'following' (*sequor*).

**288. Se-,** early Latin *sēd-*, preserved in *sēditiō*, may have been an Ablative formation; *sō-*, seen in *sō-cors*, *sō-brius*, may represent the Ablaut of *sē-*.

**289. Sub, subter.**—The Indo-European form is *\*upo*. Cf. Greek *ὑπό* (with irregular rough breathing). The initial *s* is explained as containing a reduced form of *ex*, viz. '*ks*', so that *\*(k)sup* would represent the primitive formation. For the change of *p* to *b*, see § 261. 2. On *subter*, cf. *inter*.

**290. Super, suprā.**—*Super* goes back to an Indo-European *\*uper*. Cf. Greek *ὑπέρ* (with irregular rough breathing). For the initial *s*, see § 289. *Suprā* sustains the same relation to *super* as *intrā* to *inter*.

**291. Tenus** is probably the Accusative of an obsolete *tenus*, *-eris*, lit. 'a stretch,' root *ten-*.

**292. Trāns** is probably the Present Participle of *\*trāre* seen in *intrāre*, *penetrāre*, i.e. originally *trāns flūmen mīlitēs dūxit* meant *he led his troops, crossing the river*. On *trā-*, see § 105. 2.

**293. Uls, ultrā** from root *ol-*, 'that' (cf. *olle*; § 195), are the pendants to *cis*, *citrā*.

**294. Versus, versum, etc.**—See § 258.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SYNTAX.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CASES.

##### Names of the Cases.

295. The English word *case* comes from the Latin *cāsus*, which was a translation of the Greek word *πτῶσις*. *πτῶσις* (from *πίπτω*, *fall*), as a grammatical term, primarily denoted a 'change' or 'deviation,' and was accordingly first employed to denote the oblique cases, as being 'deviations' (*πτώσεις*) from the Nominative. The Nominative itself, therefore, was not at the outset a *πτῶσις*, though it early came to bear this name.

296. The Greek names of the cases were :

ὀνομαστική (*sc.* *πτῶσις*), Nominative.

γενική, Genitive.

δοτική, Dative.

αἰτιατική, Accusative.

κλητική, Vocative.

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Brugmann und Delbrück, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, vol. iii. (*Vergleichende Syntax*, von Delbrück), Erster Theil. Strassburg, 1893. Dräger, *Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache*, 2 vols. 2d edition. Leipzig, 1878, 1881. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, vol. ii. Hannover, 1878. Schmalz, in Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. ii. 2d edition. Nördlingen, 1889. Riemann, *La Syntaxe Latine*. 3d edition. Paris, 1894. Roby, *Latin Grammar*, vol. ii. 5th edition. London, 1888.

The Nominative was so called because it was the case employed for naming a substantive when it was simply cited as a word.

The significance of the term γενική is in dispute. Some have thought it meant 'the case of source or origin.' But the usual meaning of γενικός is against this view. It probably meant 'the case of the genus,' or 'the generic case.' This view accords with the regular use of the Genitive to restrict the meaning of another word by denoting the class or γένος to which it applies, *e.g. love of parents, 'fishers of men,' tons of earth.*

The Dative was called δοτική, 'the case of giving,' though this is simply one prominent function of the case.

In calling the Accusative αἰτιατική, the Greeks intended to designate this case as the 'case of effect,' *i.e.* of the thing *caused* (αἰτία). Here again the name designated but imperfectly the functions of the case. For the Accusative indicates also the person or thing affected, to say nothing of other uses.

κλητική means 'calling case' or 'case of address.'

**297.** The Romans in devising grammatical terms for their own language simply translated these Greek names. ὀνομαστική became *Nōminātīvus* (*sc. cāsus*). In translating γενική by *Genetīvus* the Roman grammarians falsely interpreted the case as that of *source*, or *origin*, misled doubtless by the frequent use of the Greek Genitive in that function. δοτική became *Datīvus*. αἰτιατική was falsely rendered *Accūsātīvus*, as though αἰτιατική were derived from αἰτιάομαι, *accuse*. κλητική became *Vocātīvus*. The Greek had no Ablative, and for this case the Romans were therefore obliged to coin a new term; they named it *Ablātīvus*, 'the case of taking away.' This designation was fairly accurate for certain uses of the case, *viz.* those of the true Ablative; but it ignored the Instrumental and Locative uses of the case (§ 331). It is uncertain just when and by whom these Latin names were introduced. They had become established as current terms by Quintilian's time (90 A.D.).

## Review of Case-Theories.

**298.** Since the beginning of the present century, there has been much discussion concerning the original force of the cases both individually and collectively.

**299. The Localistic Theory.** — The chief representative of this was Hartung, who set forth his views in 1831 in a work *Ueber die Casus, ihre Bildung und Bedeutung*. Hartung started with the assumption (largely a correct one) that in language the development is from the concrete to the abstract, — that words at the outset indicated definite sense concepts, which later came to be used in transferred meanings. Applying this principle to the cases, he assumed that in Greek and Latin there had been (in addition to the Nominative and Vocative) three cases, one to designate each of the three definite local relations, *from*, *in*, and *to*. Applying this principle first to Greek he explained the Genitive as the *from*-case, the Dative as the *in*-case, the Accusative as the *to*-case. For Latin, substantially the same explanation was given, except that the Dative of the Greek has in Latin, according to Hartung, been differentiated into two cases, Dative and Ablative, of which the latter has entirely absorbed the *in*-function, while the Dative has developed new meanings.

Hartung's theory has been styled 'thorough-going' Localism. It asserted that the original Indo-European case-system (apart from Nominative and Vocative) had originally been limited to three cases, which expressed the three natural space relations. Wherever in the individual languages more cases appeared (as in Latin or Sanskrit), these were held to be differentiations ('*Zersplitterungen*') of the original three. Whatever may be true of the meaning of individual cases, comparative grammar conclusively proves that Localism in the form in which Hartung held it is absolutely untenable. A case-system of at least six clearly distinguished oblique cases must have existed in the Indo-European parent-speech.



**300. The Logical Theory.** — Michelsen, in his *Casuslehre der lateinischen Sprache vom causal-locales Standpunkte aus*, published in 1843, endeavored to apply logical categories to the explanation of the cases. According to him two principles are fundamental: 1) Causality (including cause and effect). 2) Finality. Hence in every sentence, he holds, we must have a cause, an effect, and a purpose. The Nominative he regarded as the case expressing the cause, the Accusative the case of the effect, the Dative as the case of finality or purpose. The Genitive and Ablative were also given special treatment, though these cases were regarded as not essential to logical completeness. But Michelsen's theory is false in principle. Language is not founded on logic, and any attempt to explain forms of speech as primarily identical with logical categories must always be fruitless.

**301. The Grammatical Theory.** — In 1845 appeared Rumpel's *Casuslehre in besonderer Beziehung auf die griechische Sprache*. This book was a protest against the Localism of Hartung on the one hand and the logical theory of Michelsen on the other. Rumpel asserted the *purely grammatical* character of the cases. The Nominative he defined as the case of the Subject, the Accusative as the case used to complete the meaning of the verb, the Genitive as the adnominal case or case used to complete the meaning of a noun, while the Dative was used to modify the meaning of the sentence as a whole. Where the Genitive limited a verb, it was explained as denoting an internal relation as opposed to an external relation, such as that denoted by the Accusative. As Rumpel concerned himself only with Greek, he propounded no theory of the Ablative.

**302. Subsequent Views.** — Rumpel's theory shows much better method than either Hartung's or Michelsen's. Yet the grammatical theory of the cases is not universally true. Discussion since Rumpel's day has shown that while some of the cases are

undoubtedly grammatical in their origin, others were just as certainly local. To the Grammatical cases belong with certainty the Nominative and the Genitive, the former as the case of the subject, the latter as the adnominal case. To the local cases belong with certainty the Ablative, as the *from*-case, the Locative, as the *in*-case, and the Instrumental, as the case denoting *association with*. Diversity of opinion still exists as to the Dative and to some slight extent as regards the Accusative. If we regard the Dative as originally the case of *direction*, it is a local case; if we take it as originally used to modify the sentence as a whole, it is a grammatical case. The Accusative is usually regarded as simply completing the meaning of the verb, and is therefore classified as a grammatical case; but there is some warrant for considering it as originally denoting the *goal of motion*, in which case it would be local. See § 311.

#### THE ACCUSATIVE.<sup>1</sup>

303. The distinction between the Accusative of the Person or Thing Affected (*Gr.* § 175) on the one hand and the Accusative of the Result Produced (*Gr.* § 176) on the other, is one of fundamental importance. Other designations are often employed to distinguish the two types. Thus the Accusative of the Person or Thing Affected is called External Object, the Accusative of Result Produced the Internal Object. But these designations are likely to prove too philosophical for elementary pupils. German scholars employ also the designations '*Akkusativ des Affekts*' and '*Akkusativ des Effekts*,' terms which might be advantageously imitated in English, if our language only had the noun *Affect*. When the Greek philosophers gave the name αἰτιατική to the Accusative, they had in mind only the second of the two uses of the Accusative now under consideration, *viz.* the Accusative of the Result Produced or, as they designated it, of the Thing Caused ('Internal

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<sup>1</sup> For the original force of the Accusative, see § 311.

Object,' 'Effect'). The Romans, in transferring the Greek name of the case to Latin, should have rendered it by some such word as *Causātivus* (a designation actually employed by Priscian) or *Effectivus*. Either of these would, like the Greek original, have been a defective name (*cf.* § 296), but it would have been accurate as far as it went.

**304. The Accusative with Passives used as Middles.** — The treatment of the Accusative after Passive Verbs in *Gr.* § 175. 2. *d*) is based on the elaborate discussions of Schröder, *Der Accusativ nach Passiven Verben in der Lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Grossglogau, 1870; Engelhardt, *Passive Verba mit dem Accusativ*, Bromberg, 1879; and the treatment of Kühner in his *Ausführliche Lateinische Grammatik*, ii. § 71. *b*). The explanation of the Accusative as Synecdochical (*cf.* *Gr.* § 180), which is sometimes given for this construction, is not adequate. It might explain such phrases as *cinctus tempora hederā*, but is irrational for *galeam induitur*, *nōdō sinūs collēcta*, *laevō suspēnsī loculōs lacertō*, and many others. On the other hand, the interpretation of the Passive in such instances as a Middle, and the Accusative as the Direct Object, furnishes a satisfactory explanation of all phrases of this type.

Sometimes by an extension of usage the Middle is employed to indicate that the subject *lets some action be consummated upon himself*, or *has it done*. *Cf.* English *he had his hair cut*. An illustration of this is Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 273 *per pedēs trājectus lōra*, 'having had thongs drawn through his feet.' For a few instances in which a Synecdochical Accusative occurs with Passive verbs, see § 307.

**305. Accusative of Result Produced.** — The different constructions grouped together under *Gr.* § 176. 1–5, are often referred to the Cognate Accusative as the original from which they have all developed. The Cognate Accusative, however, is so restricted

in its scope that it seems better to regard it as a subdivision of a larger category rather than as the basis of such a category. Cf. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 178. 2, who classifies *τύπτειν ἔλκος* (*strike a wound, i.e. produce a wound by striking*) and *νικᾶν νίκην*, *win a victory*, as parallel subdivisions of the general category of the Accusative with Verbs of *producing*.

**306. Accusative of Person Affected and of Result Produced Dependent upon the Same Verb** (*Gr.* § 178).—The true character of this construction is best seen in phrases where the Accusative of Result is a Neuter Pronoun or Adjective, *e.g. tē haec rogō, id mē docēs*, the essential point being that the Latin was able not only to say *id docēs* (Acc. of Result) and *mē docēs* (Acc. of Person Affected), but to combine the two constructions in a single phrase. It is a misconception to regard the Accusative of Result in such sentences as any less the Direct Object than the Accusative of the Person Affected. Each of the two Accusatives is a Direct Object equally with the other. There is no essential difference between the construction of *haec* in *haec mē rogās* and the construction of *haec* in *haec rogās*. In many instances the Accusative of Result with verbs of *asking, teaching, etc.*, is clearly of secondary origin, *e.g. tē sententiam rogō*, after *tē hōc rogō*; *tē cēlāvī sermōnem* after *tē id cēlāvī*.

**307. The Synecdochical or Greek Accusative** (*Gr.* § 180).—There can be little doubt that this construction is a Grecism. Cf. Quintilian, ix. 3. 17. Some have claimed it as a genuine Latin idiom, but its almost total restriction to the poets of the imperial age and to the prose writers who imitate them is against any such theory. The names ‘Accusative of Specification’ and ‘Accusative of Respect’ are sometimes used to designate this construction.

With Passive verbs the Accusative usually belongs under *Gr.* § 175. 2. *d*), but in some twenty instances in the Augustan poets and in about twice that number in Lucan, Silius, Statius, and

Valerius Flaccus, we must recognize the Synecdochical Accusative. A typical instance is, Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 57, *manūs juvenem post terga revinctum*, 'tied as to his hands.'

**308. Accusative in Exclamations.** — This construction is apparently the result of ellipsis. Just what verb is to be supplied in thought in particular instances is not always clear, nor is it material that it should be determined.

**309. The Accusative as Subject of the Infinitive.** — The Accusative as Subject of the Infinitive is an outgrowth of the use of the Accusative as Direct Object. The history of the construction may be illustrated as follows: In an expression like *jussī eum abīre*, *eum* was originally the object of *jussī*, while the Infinitive was a noun in the Locative (§ 243), the force of the entire phrase being: *I ordered him to a going* (§ 351). But in course of time the *eum abīre* came to be felt as a whole and as sustaining an object relation to the verb, a conception which led to such expressions as *jussit puerōs necārī*, where *puerōs* could never have been the object of *jussit*. When once the construction of the Accusative with the Infinitive became established, its extension was rapid. Expressions like *jussit puerōs necārī* easily led to *dīxī puerōs necātōs esse*, whence *puerī necātī esse dicēbantur* and other types of Infinitive usage.

**310. Id genus, muliebre secus, etc.** — 1. *Id genus* is clearly appositional in origin, as indicated by the fact that it regularly occurs only in combination with a Nominative or Accusative, *i.e.* not *virōrum id genus*, but usually *virī id genus*, *virōs id genus*, *etc.*

2. *Muliebre secus*, *virīle secus*, while doubtless of the same origin as *id genus*, have nevertheless advanced a stage beyond it in actual use. We find not only *liberī muliebre secus*, 'children of the female sex,' lit. 'children, the female sex' (of children), but also *liberōrum (liberīs) muliebre secus*.

3. *Meam vicem, tuam vicem, etc.* — The appositional origin of

this phrase seems to be indicated by such early Latin usages as Plautus, *Mostellaria* ii. 1. *S. quī hodiē sēsē excruciārī meam vicem possit pati*, 'who can let himself be tortured, as my substitute'; *Capituli* 697 *ut eum remittat nostrum ambōrum vicem*, 'to release him in return for us two,' lit. 'as an exchange for us two.'

4. *Māgnam partem, māximam partem*. — The appositional origin of these phrases is less certain, yet expressions like Livy, v. 14 and ix. 37. 9 *māximam partem ad arma trepidantēs caedēs oppressit*, seem to point in that direction.

311. Original Force of the Accusative Case. — Rumpel in his *Casuslehre*, published in 1845 (*cf.* § 301), contended that the Accusative served simply as the complement of the verb, and that all the varieties of meaning, such as limit of motion, duration of time, direct object, *etc.*, are but varieties of this primary function. Rumpel accordingly regarded the Accusative as a grammatical case, and this view has been maintained by most subsequent scholars. It is advocated to-day by all the leading authorities, *e.g.* Delbrück, Brugmann, Hübschmann, Holzweissig, Gädicke, and others. This theory, it must be admitted, is both simple and rational. Yet there have always been some scholars who have recognized the *goal*-notion as representing the original force of the Accusative. While it is impossible to prove the truth of this latter theory, yet the arguments in its favor deserve consideration. They are the following :

1. The antecedent probability of the existence of a case denoting *to* a place, person, or thing, is very great. It is admitted that the parent-speech had an *in*-case (the Locative) and a *from*-case (the Ablative), so that a *to*-case might naturally be expected as the complement of these.

2. There are advantages in starting with a concrete, tangible meaning for the Accusative. Language undeniably develops from the concrete to the abstract.

3. The *goal*-notion is shown by the testimony of those Indo-



European languages whose literature reaches furthest back, to have been an extremely primitive force of this case. Thus Sanskrit and Homeric Greek exhibit the *goal*-meaning of the Accusative, while the vestiges of it in Latin indicate that in pre-historic times it had been more frequent. Thus the use of town names, and of *domum*, *domōs*, *rūs*, to denote the *goal* of motion, and the occurrence of such expressions as *exsequiās ire*, *infītiās ire*, *pessum dare*, *tēnum dare*, point to a freer use of the same kind in early times. The Supine in *-um* also shows this primitive force. It is noteworthy that in post-Homeric Greek this *goal*-use of the Accusative had become obsolete. Post-Homeric Greek stands upon the same ground as Latin in this respect. In both of these languages the practical disappearance of the *goal*-notion in historical times would seem to indicate that as other uses developed the original function gradually passed away.

4. The other uses of the Accusative may all be satisfactorily derived from the *goal*-use as the original one. As the first and most obvious developments must be considered the Accusative of Extent of Space and of Duration of Time. Thus *vīgintī mīlia prōcessit* would originally have meant 'he advanced to the limit of twenty miles,' whence arose secondarily the notion of extent. Similarly *vīgintī annōs vīxit* would have meant originally 'he lived to the limit of twenty years,' whence secondarily 'he lived throughout twenty years.' In the case of the Direct Object the Accusative may also have originally designated the limit of the action of the verb. Thus *aeḏēs strūxit* would originally have meant 'he performed an act of building, the goal of which was a house.' Similarly *videō hominem*, 'I perform an act of seeing, the goal of which is a man.' Cf. the similar idiom prevalent in certain Romance languages, e.g. Spanish *yo veo al hombre*, lit. 'I see, to the man' = 'I see the man.' The so-called Accusative of Specification, which, so far as it appears in Latin, is apparently a Grecism (§ 307), would be the least obvious development of the *goal*-notion. Yet expressions like *umerōs similis deō*, lit. 'like a god



as to the shoulders,' may be explained as originally meaning 'looking to the shoulders,' 'as regards the shoulders,' *i.e.* the shoulders are conceived as the *thought limit* to which the statement is referred.

#### THE DATIVE.

**312.** The Dative probably originally designated *motion towards, motion in the direction of*. It was accordingly a localistic case. Some, however, as Delbrück, regard it as a grammatical case, and think that originally it was a mere sentence modifier, very much like the so-called Dative of Reference. But it is much more difficult to develop the notion of direction from the force of the Dative as a sentence modifier than *vice versa*; Brugmann (*Griechische Grammatik*,<sup>2</sup> § 175) expresses the opinion that the notion of direction in the Dative is as old as the parent-speech; if so, it seems simpler to assume this concreter meaning as the original one. In that case the poetical construction of the Dative to denote direction of motion (*Gr.* § 193) would represent the original meaning of the case.

**313. Dative of Indirect Object.** — The Dative of Indirect Object is a very obvious development of the notion of *direction*, just assumed as the original meaning of the Dative case. Thus *tibi hōc dīcō*, 'I tell you this,' would originally have meant 'I tell this in your direction'; so *tibi ignōscō*, 'I pardon you'; *ruīna nōbīs impendet*, 'ruin threatens us.'

**314. Indirect Object with Verbs signifying 'Favor,' 'Help,' etc.** — It is a common conception that the Latin is peculiar in construing many verbs of these meanings with the Dative; but this impression is erroneous, and largely due to the loss of inflections in English, whereby the original distinction between the Anglo-Saxon Dative and Accusative has become obliterated, so that the English 'Objective' is commonly felt as an Accusative.

As a matter of fact many verbs of the category under consideration were intransitive in Anglo-Saxon and in Teutonic generally, and accordingly governed the Dative case. Modern German gives clear illustration of this. *Cf. e.g. ich glaube Ihnen, ich verzeihe Ihnen, ich traue Ihnen, ich helfe Ihnen.* Latin, therefore, does not differ from English and the other Teutonic languages in taking the Dative with these verbs; on the other hand there is a striking agreement, when we come to examine the matter from the historical point of view.

**315. The Indirect Object with Compound Verbs.** — It is a misconception to suppose that the mere fact of composition with certain prepositions was the occasion of the employment of the Dative case. Prepositions when prefixed to *neuter* verbs often essentially modify the previous character of the verb. Sometimes they make the verb transitive (*i.e.* the verb becomes transitive), and it then governs the Accusative (*e.g. inīre magistrātum. Cf. Gr. 175. 2. a*). More frequently a neuter verb, when compounded with a preposition, becomes only so far modified in meaning as to admit an indirect object, not a direct one, *e.g. periculīs incurrit.* But the use of the Dative should be referred not to the fact of composition, but to the *meaning* of the verb. Least of all should the Dative be regarded as depending upon the preposition, — an error often propagated in the minds of elementary pupils.

**316. The Dative of Reference** is an outgrowth of the original notion of *direction* belonging to the Dative. It is a somewhat less obvious development than the Dative of Indirect Object, representing as it does a somewhat weaker relation. Thus in a sentence like *nōbīs hostēs in cōspectum vēnerant*, the Dative represents the direction of the thought as a whole rather than of the action indicated by the verb. The name 'Dative of Interest' sometimes applied to this construction is somewhat narrower in

scope than 'Dative of Reference,' and hence is less satisfactory. The subdivision of this construction into 'Dative of Advantage' and 'Dative of Disadvantage' is quite useless. These designations obscure the real character of the construction, calling attention, as they do, to what is merely accidental. A division of the Accusative of Direct Object into 'Accusative of Advantage' and 'Accusative of Disadvantage' would be equally justified.

**317. The Ethical Dative.**—This is simply a special phase of the Dative of Reference, and is entitled to recognition as a separate category only because it represents the Dative in its most attenuated force, — often, in fact, quite untranslatable. It is confined to the Personal Pronouns.

**318. Dative of Agency ; Dative of Possession.**—These are both developments of the Dative of Reference. Thus *haec mihi agenda sunt* originally meant 'this is to be done and it is with reference me that this is true,' *i.e.* 'I must do this.' Similarly *nōbīs sunt agrī* originally meant 'there are lands, and it is of us that this is true,' *i.e.* 'we have lands.'

**319. Dative of Purpose.**—This, like the Dative of Indirect Object, is a perfectly obvious development of the original notion of direction belonging to the Dative. Thus *receptū canere*, 'to sound the signal for a retreat,' was originally 'to sound the signal in the direction of a retreat'; *rei publicae clādī sunt* similarly meant 'they are in the direction of damage to the state.'

#### THE GENITIVE.

**320. The Genitive** is best regarded as primarily an adnominal case, *i.e.* as originally used with nouns to define their meaning more closely. It is therefore a grammatical, as opposed to a local, case. The use of the Genitive with verbs must be regarded as secondary, and as developed from its use with nouns by some association or analogy.

**321. Genitive with Nouns.** — The special kind of closer determination expressed by the Genitive, depends upon the context. There was no one type from which the others developed, but all of the varieties enumerated in *Gr.* § 195 (excepting the Genitive of Quality) are equally primitive. Most of these call for no special comment, but the Objective Genitive is noteworthy as exhibiting at times a wider extension of application than at first belonged to it. Theoretically the Objective Genitive is used only with verbal nouns whose corresponding verb governs the Accusative. Thus *amor patris* corresponds to *amāre patrem*, *metus deōrum* to *metuere deōs*, etc. But by an extension of usage we frequently find the Genitive used with nouns derived from verbs which govern other cases, and even from verbs which admit no case construction whatever. Typical examples are: *cōsuētūdō hominum*, 'intercourse with men'; *excessus vītæ*, 'departure from life'; *ira prædæ amissæ*, 'anger on account of the loss of the booty'; *argenti ōrātiō*, 'talk about the money.' These relations, however, are usually more accurately expressed by means of prepositions.

**322. Genitive of Quality.** — This seems to have been of secondary origin and to have developed from the Subjective Genitive. Thus *homō māgnæ virtūtis* was probably originally 'Virtue's man.' In conformity with this origin, the Genitive of Quality regularly denotes a *permanent* quality, as opposed to the Ablative of Quality, which was primarily employed to designate qualities which were more or less *transitory*. See § 345.

**323. Genitive with Adjectives.** — This construction must be regarded as equally primitive with that of the Genitive with nouns. *Cupidus laudis*, for example, is just as original a construction as *cupiditās laudis*.

As regards the construction with *similis*, many fine-spun theories have been propounded to account for the difference between

*similis* with the Genitive and *similis* with the Dative. The difference, however, is probably merely one of chronology and not of meaning. In the earliest Latin we find *similis* construed only with the Genitive. This is Plautus's unvarying usage. Later the use of the Dative begins to creep in, doubtless after the analogy of *pār* and similar words construed with the Dative, and as time goes on the Dative gains the supremacy more and more, until in Silver Latin the Genitive is comparatively rare.

**324. Genitive with Verbs.** — If the Genitive was primarily an adnominal case, its use with verbs must be of secondary origin, and is due either to some analogy whereby the verb adopts the construction of a noun of kindred meaning, or else to the ellipsis of a governing word.

**325. Genitive with *Meminī*, *Reminīscor*, *Oblīvīscor*.** — With verbs of *remembering* the use of the Genitive apparently comes from associating the verb with *memor*. Thus *meminī* was felt as *memor sum*. *Oblīvīscor* followed the analogy of its opposite, *meminī*. Cf. English *differ with* after the analogy of *agree with*.

**326. Genitive with *Admoneō*, etc.** — Here the verb of *reminding* was probably felt as equivalent to *aliquem memorem reddere*, and was construed with the Genitive on this principle.

**327. With Verbs of Judicial Action** the Genitive is plausibly explained as resulting from an ellipsis of the governing word, *crimine*, *iudiciō*, *nōmine*. Thus *Verrem avaritiæ coarguit* is to be regarded as standing for *Verrem avaritiæ crimine coarguit*; 'he convicts Verres on the charge of avarice.' Occasionally *crimine* was expressed, e.g. Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 14. 2 *cecidere conjūratiōnis crimine*; iii. 44. 8 *mājestātis crimine reum*.

**328. Genitive with *Pudet*, *Paenitet*, etc.** — The Genitive here is held to depend upon the noun notion implied in the verb. Thus *puDET* suggests *pudor*; *paenitet*, *paenitentia*; *miseret*, *miseri-cordia*, etc.

**329. Interest and Rēfert.** — The Genitive here is probably the Subjective Genitive used predicatively, *i.e.* *patris interest rem familiārem cūrāre* is quite analogous to *patris est rem familiārem cūrāre*. For the Ablative Singular Feminine of the Possessive with *rēfert* and *interest*, see § 349. 3.

**330. Genitive with Other Verbs.** — With verbs of *plenty* and *want*, *e.g.* *compleō*, *impleō*, *indigeō*, the Genitive, where used, is employed after the analogy of its use with adjectives of *plenty* and *want*; thus *compleō* after *plēnus*; *indigeō* after *egēnus*, *etc.* But with most verbs of this category the Ablative is the regular construction. *Potior* when construed with the Genitive follows the analogy of *potēns*, ‘master of.’

#### THE ABLATIVE.

**331.** The Ablative is a so-called syncretistic case, *i.e.* a case resulting from the fusion of more than one original case. The Ablative represents three original Indo-European cases, *viz.* the true Ablative or *from*-case, the Instrumental or *with*-case, and the Locative or *in*-case. Evidences of the fusion referred to are found both in the forms and in the functions of the so-called Ablative.

*a) Forms:* Only a portion of the forms designated as Ablative are historically such. Thus in *ā*-stems the Ablative Singular is a true Ablative (*e.g.* *portā*, for *portād*; § 118). In the Plural of *ā*-stems the so-called Ablative is probably an Instrumental, — possibly a Locative (§ 122). The same is true of *ō*-stems as of *ā*-stems. In Consonant stems the Ablative Singular in *-e* (*e.g.* *mīlite*) is either an Instrumental or a Locative (§ 141), while the Plural ending *-ibus* is a true Ablative. In the *-ǐ*-, *-ǔ*-, and *-ē*-stems both the Ablative Singular and the Ablative Plural are true Ablatives.

*b) Functions:* The triple function of the so-called Ablative also points clearly to a triple origin of the case. Thus we find *from*-uses, *with*-uses, and *in*-uses (the last much rarer than the

others) side by side. Notions so radically distinct could hardly have developed from a single original case.

By the Romans, of course, the Ablative was felt as a single case. They were totally ignorant of its syncretistic origin, although they recognized its great diversity of function.

**332. Causes of Syncretism in the Latin Ablative.**—The causes leading to syncretism in the Ablative were of twofold nature :

a) In the first place certain Ablative, Locative, and Instrumental formations, originally distinct, came to be identical in form. Thus in consonant stems the original Locative ended in *-ī*, the Instrumental in *-ā*. But by phonetic laws *-ī* and *-ā* both became *-ē*. Thus an original *\*mīlit-ī* and an original *\*mīlit-ā* both became *mīlit-ē*. Similarly in the Ablative Plural of *ā*- and *ō*-stems *-īs* (for *\*-āīs*, *\*-ōīs* ; § 122) may possibly represent both a Locative and an Instrumental formation. So probably some other formations.

b) In the second place the Locative, Ablative, and Instrumental cases, in spite of their radical differences of meaning, naturally possessed certain points of contact. Thus *aquā lavāre* might have meant originally either 'to wash with water' or 'to wash in water,' *i.e.* might be expressed either by the Instrumental or the Locative. Similarly *equō vehī* might mean 'to be borne on a horse' or 'by a horse'; *onus umerō sustinet*, 'he bears the load on his shoulder' or 'with his shoulder'; *carrīs veniunt*, 'they come with carts' or 'on carts,' etc. These examples all show points of contact between the Locative and Instrumental. The Ablative and Instrumental also have certain points of contact. Thus *irā ardēre* might mean either 'to burn with anger' or 'from anger'; *lacte vivunt* might mean either 'they live from milk' or 'by milk,' etc. Points of contact between Locative and Ablative are naturally much less frequent, yet such English expressions as 'to receive at the hands of' and 'from the hands of,' show that even here contact was possible.



Ablative, Instrumental, and Locative, therefore, to a certain extent occupied common ground in the field of thought, and this circumstance, coupled with certain outward resemblances in form, ultimately led in Latin to a complete fusion of the three and to the establishment of a single syncretistic case, — the Ablative.

### Genuine Ablative Uses.

**333.** The true Ablative designated *dissociation* or *the point of departure*. When the dissociation is external, we call the construction Ablative of Separation ; when the dissociation is internal, we call it Ablative of Source, a construction which in prose is confined to narrow limits. The Ablative of Agency is also a development of the true Ablative, the agent being conceived as the source from which the action emanates ; e.g. in *ā Caesare accūsātus est* the action was primarily conceived as emanating from Caesar as its source.

**334. Ablative of Comparison.** — This construction also reveals the original conception of *point of departure*. Thus *melle dulcior* primarily meant ‘sweeter, reckoning from honey as the standard,’ and so in similar expressions. An examination of Cicero’s orations shows that in this writer the Ablative of Comparison is mainly restricted to negative sentences, to interrogative sentences implying a negative, and to a few stock phrases such as *lūce clārius*, *lātius opīnionē*, etc.

When *plūs*, *minus*, *longius*, and *amplius* are used as the equivalents of *plūs quam*, *minus quam*, etc., the *plūs*, *minus*, etc., were probably originally appositional. Thus *amplius vīgintī urbēs incenduntur* originally meant ‘twenty cities, (aye) more were fired.’ This explanation, of course, involves the assumption that originally a different order of the words existed in sentences of this type, e.g. *vīgintī urbēs, amplius, incenduntur*, and this assumption is borne out by the repeated occurrence of this order, e.g. Tac. Ann. xii. 43 *quīndecim dīerum alimenta, non amplius*, ‘food

for fifteen days, not more'; Livy xxix. 32. 5 *cum quinquāgintā, haud amplius, equitibus*, 'with fifty horsemen, no more.'

### Instrumental Uses of the Ablative.

335. The Instrumental was primarily the case of *association* or *with-case*.

336. *Ablative of Accompaniment*. — This is logically one of the first and most obvious developments of the sociative idea. The construction is not frequent, however, being confined mainly to military expressions. *Gr.* 222. 1.

337. *Ablative of Association*. — Besides the idea of *accompaniment* (which strictly applies only to persons in connection with a verb of motion) the Ablative also sometimes denotes *association*. This construction was never common in Latin, yet it should be recognized in a limited set of expressions; thus with *jungere, conjugere, miscere, mūtare, permūtare, assuētus*, e.g. *libidō scelere jūcta*, 'lust joined with crime'; *mella tīnō miscere*, 'to mix honey with wine'; *bellum agriculturā permūtant*, 'they exchange war for farming'; *assuētus labōre*, 'accustomed to toil' (lit. 'familiarized with toil'). In all of these expressions and in some others of less frequent occurrence, it seems better to recognize the primitive sociative force of the Instrumental, rather than the Ablative of Means, as is done in *Gr.* § 218. 5; 7.

338. *Ablative of Attendant Circumstance* (Delbrück's '*Instrumentalis der Begleitenden Umstände*'; *Vergleichende Syntax*, § 105). — This construction also is a direct outgrowth of the sociative idea inherent in the Instrumental. Thus *dat sonitū māgnō strāgem* means 'occasions destruction in connection with a loud crashing'; *nēmō mea fūnera flētū faxit*, 'let no one celebrate my obsequies with weeping'; *extinguitur ingentī luctū*, 'he dies under circumstances of great sorrow,' etc.

339. The Ablative of Manner is another obvious development of the sociative idea. Thus in *māgnā gratiā loquitur*, 'he speaks with great impressiveness,' the 'impressiveness' was primarily conceived as an accompanying feature of the speaking. 'Manner' differs from 'Attendant Circumstance' in that it is regularly restricted to *abstract words*, e.g. *clementiā, virtutē, dignitatē, etc.*

340. Ablative of Accordance. — The construction treated under Ablative of Manner in *Gr.* § 220. 3, viz. *suīs mōribus, meā sententiā, etc.*, seems to be closely connected both with Manner on the one hand and Attendant Circumstance on the other. The type is so definite and pronounced that it deserves clear recognition in our Latin teaching. Another excellent example of the construction is seen in *Cic. de Sen.* 3, *parēs autem veteris prōverbiū cum paribus facillimē congregantur*, 'according to the old proverb, "birds of a feather flock together."'

341. Ablative of Means. — The notion of Means is an outgrowth of the idea of Association. Thus, *hostem telō percussit* is primarily 'he smote his foe (in connection) with a spear.' Out of this sociative idea the notion of *means* or *instrument* developed secondarily. Yet there are few instances of the Ablative of Means in which traces of the sociative notion are not apparent, and in some cases this idea is very prominent, e.g. *pilā ludere*, 'to play (with a) ball'; *deīs precibus adorāre*, 'to worship the gods with prayers.'

1. With *utor, fruor, fungor, potior, vescor*, the Ablative of Means is a natural result of the Middle, i.e. reflexive, use of these verbs, 'benefit one's self,' 'enjoy one's self,' etc.

2. With *opus est* the Ablative is a secondary construction after the analogy of *onus est* with the Ablative. In *onus est aliqūd rē*, 'there is need of something,' the Ablative was originally one of Means, lit. 'there is service 'by means of something.' From the notion of *use* the notion of *need* arose secondarily. Cf. German *ich brauche etwas*, 'I need something,' as an outgrowth of the

earlier meaning, 'I use something.' Besides the use of *ūsus est* with the Ablative, we find *ūsus* used predicatively, e.g. *hōc ūsus est*, 'this is necessary.' Now in the case of *opus*, the predicate construction was probably the earlier; *opus* is best taken as the Genitive of *ops*, 'help, service.' The formation would then be a relic of Genitives of the type of *nōminus*, *necessus*, etc. (§ 138). At the outset *hōc opus est* meant 'this is of service,' secondarily 'this is necessary.' Early Latin exhibits many instances of this predicative use of *opus* in its original meaning, 'of service,' and the same force is noticeable at times in Cicero (e.g. *de Or.* ii. 296), Livy (e.g. xliii. 19. 4), and later writers. The construction *opus est aliquā rē* seems to be historically later than the predicate construction, and to have developed after the analogy of *ūsus est aliquā rē*. It is in view of this theory of the origin of the construction that it has been classed in the *Gr.* as a subdivision of the Ablative of Means.

3. With *continērī*, *cōsistere*, *cōnstāre*, *consist of, be composed of*, the Ablative was probably originally one of Means. Such is the view of Ebrard, *de Ablativi, Locativi, Instrumentalis usu*, p. 645. Kühner and Roby also give this explanation for *cōnstāre* and *cōsistere*; *continērī* they explain as a Locative use. But all three words originally had the same meaning, 'hold together, be held together,' and it seems unnecessary to adopt different explanations for the separate verbs. Some scholars regard the Ablative with all three verbs as a true Ablative usage. This view is based upon the occurrence of *ex* with the Ablative with *cōnstāre*. But prepositions are a very uncertain guide in such matters. Often more than one case relation is possible with the same verb; and often a verb in its developed meaning takes a different construction from that which it originally had. See Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 230.

4. *Quid hōc homine faciās; quid mē fiet?* Delbrück in his *Ablativus, Localis, Instrumentalis*, p. 17 (published in 1867), explained the case in expressions of this type as a true Ablative

Ebrard's collections for early Latin, however, showed that the construction was rather Instrumental in origin, and Delbrück now (*Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 248) adopts this view.

5. **Ablative of the Way by which.** — This construction seems to be one of considerable antiquity, and deserves recognition as an independent type of the Instrumental. It appears not only in Latin, but in several other Indo-European languages. Illustrations for Latin are: *ut jugīs Octogesam perveniret*, 'that he might reach Octogesa by way of the mountains'; *portis erumpunt*; *frumentum quod flumine Ararī subvexerat*.

342. **Ablative of Cause.** — Cause is sometimes referred to the true Ablative for its origin. In accordance with this theory *īrā ardēre* meant originally 'to burn from anger.' The Sanskrit often employs the Ablative in this way. On the other hand an Instrumental origin is equally conceivable. Cf. such English expressions as *burn with anger*, *howl with pain*, *leap with joy*, *green with envy*; the Sanskrit employs the Instrumental as well as the Ablative to denote this relation. Other Indo-European languages also use the Instrumental to denote Cause. While it is impossible to prove that Cause has developed exclusively from the Instrumental conception, yet it is likely that this case has at least had the greater share in propagating the construction; such is now the opinion of Delbrück (*Vergleichende Syntax*, § 126). Cf. also Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, ii. p. 291.

343. **Ablative of Degree of Difference.** — This seems an outgrowth of the Ablative of Means; i.e. *ūnō diē longiōrem mēsem faciunt* meant primarily 'they make the month longer by means of one day,' and so on.

344. **Ablative of Price.** — Price was in its origin a development of the Means notion. At the outset, the construction must have been confined to verbs of *buying*, e.g. *puellam vīgīnī minīs ēmit*, 'he bought the girl by means of twenty minae.' With verbs

of *selling* the price was not strictly the means of selling; but after the analogy of verbs of *buying*, such verbs early came to take the Ablative construction. A still further extension of the construction is seen in its application to verbs of *costing*, *being worth*, etc., and also to the adjectives *vīlis*, 'cheap'; *cārus*, 'dear,' 'too dear,' e.g. *HS sex milibus cōstat*, 'it costs 6000 sesterces'; *asse cārum*, 'dear at a farthing.'

The use of *tantī*, *quantī*, *plūris*, *minōris* with verbs of *buying* and *selling* is the result of a transference of the Genitive of Value (*Gr.* § 203. 3) from verbs of *valuing*, *estimating*, etc., to verbs of *buying* and *selling*. Such a transition is psychologically easy. Cf. our English *I wouldn't give a penny for that* (a phrase of *buying*) in the sense of *I don't value that at a penny*.

**345.** The Ablative of Quality is an obvious outgrowth of the sociative force of the Instrumental case. Thus in a sentence like *serpens immānī corpore incēdit*, the original idea was 'the serpent moves on with its huge body,' as though the body were a distinct accompaniment of the serpent. But in course of time the Ablative in such cases came to be felt as a modifier of the noun. In this way such expressions as *acerba tuēns immānī corpore serpens* became possible. Here the phrase *immānī corpore* can be conceived only as an Ablative of Quality, limiting *serpens*; it cannot be associated with the verb as in the first example.

In conformity with its origin, the Ablative of Quality primarily denotes more or less transitory qualities. Qualities which are the mere outward accompaniment of an action are naturally not permanent. The observation sometimes made that the Genitive denotes *internal* qualities, whereas the Ablative primarily denotes *external* ones, is not sufficiently exact. In the phrase *hortatur ut bonō animō sint*, 'he urges them to be of good courage,' the quality is internal; yet the Genitive could not here be used; for while the quality is internal, it is transitory. On the other hand, 'a man of high purpose' is in Latin *vir māgnū animī*, since a per-



manent and not a passing quality is intended. By an extension of usage the Ablative is sometimes employed, where ambiguity would not result, to indicate permanent characteristics; but the Genitive is not used to denote temporary qualities. Thus physical and bodily characteristics, as belonging to this latter class, are regularly designated by the Ablative.

**346. Ablative of Specification.**—This seems to be a development of the sociative force of the Instrumental. Thus *Helvētī virtūte praeēdunt* meant originally 'the Helvetii with their valor are superior'; so *pede claudus*, 'lame with his foot.' The Means conception may also have assisted in the propagation of the construction.

**347. Ablative Absolute.**—The Ablative Absolute construction is an outgrowth of the sociative force of the Instrumental. Thus in Plaut. *Trin. Prol. 13 rem paternam mē adjūtrīce perdidit*, the sense is: 'he lost his property (in connection) with me helping him'; so frequently *mē jūdīce*, 'with me as judge'; *tē praesente*, 'with you present.' Cf. further *scissā veste, passīs capillīs*, 'with clothes torn, and hair dishevelled.' At first the Ablative in such phrases modified the verb of the sentence, but ultimately the original construction was lost sight of, and the phrase as a whole came to be felt as a kind of loose modifier of the rest of the sentence (Ablative Absolute).

Others have regarded the Ablative Absolute as a Locative development. This theory was suggested by the fact that the Locative is the case absolute in Sanskrit. That fact, however, would be of little significance for Latin unless it can be shown that the Locative was the case absolute in the Indo-European parent-speech. But there is nothing to show that such was the case. In fact each language seems to have developed its own case absolute. In Sanskrit we have the Locative, in Greek the Genitive and Accusative; in Gothic there are traces of the Dative;



modern German employs the Accusative. As regards Latin, therefore, there is no anterior probability in favor of any particular case. The question is simply one of evidence, and the evidence points to an Instrumental rather than to a Locative origin. Those who advocate a Locative origin are forced to find the beginnings of the construction in the temporal force of the Locative, e.g. *Servio regnante*, 'in the time of Servius reigning'; *bellō cōfectō*, 'at the time of the war having been finished,' etc. But this explanation seems much less natural than the former.

Another theory, that of Bombe (*De Ablativo Absoluto*, Greifswald, 1877), refers the Ablative Absolute to the true Ablative for its origin. Bombe explains *bellō cōfectō*, etc., as 'after the war having been finished.' But no such use of the true Ablative to denote *time after which* is known for Latin. Moreover, if Bombe's theory were true, we should expect a predominance of time-words in the early history of the construction; but no such predominance is found to exist.

### Locative Uses of the Ablative.

**348.** The Locative seems to have originally designated the space *in* or *within which* something is done. From this meaning the notions *at*, *on* subsequently developed (Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 183). The Locative uses of the Ablative naturally fall into two classes: Place Relations and Time Relations.

**349. Place Relations.**—These may be either *literal* or *figurative*.

1. In its literal force the Locative may mean:

a) 'in,' as *premit altum corde dolōrem*.

b) 'on,' as *pharetram fert umerō*.

c) 'by,' 'near,' as *litore curvō exstruimus torōs*. This last appears to be rare.

The preposition, however, is usually necessary to express these relations, except in poetry and late prose, and in the classes of words specified in *Gr.* § 228. 1.

Some recognize a Locative use in *tenēre sē castrīs, aliquem tēctō recipere, pūgnā vincere*; but all of these easily admit interpretation as Instrumental usages, and in the phrase *conquer in battle*, it is significant that the Sanskrit regularly employs the Instrumental case.

2. In figurative uses the Locative function of the Ablative is restricted to very narrow limits. Here belong, however, a few phrases such as *animīs pendent*, lit. 'they are in suspense in their minds' (cf. the Singular *animī* in *animī pendere*); *stāre prōmissīs*, 'to stand by one's promises'; *stāre conventīs*; *manēre prōmissīs*. In his *Ablativus, Instrumentalis, Localis* (1867), p. 39, Delbrück formerly pronounced in favor of recognizing a Locative usage in connection with *glōriōr, dēlector*. But now in his *Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 253, this scholar regards the construction as Instrumental in origin. The same explanation is also to be preferred for *laetor, gaudeō, etc.* Similarly with *fīdō* and *cōnfīdō* an Instrumental origin is the more probable, inasmuch as we find this case used in Slavic with verbs of *trusting*.

3. **Rēfert and Interest.**—The Ablative Singular Feminine of the Possessive with *rēfert* originally limited the *rē* (Ablative of *rēs*, 'thing') of *rēfert*. If the construction was Locative in origin, *meā rēfert* may have originally meant 'it bears towards my affair' (Goal Locative; § 351), i.e. 'it concerns me.' The use of the Ablative Singular Feminine of the Possessive with *interest* is of secondary origin, being modelled on the construction with *rēfert* in consequence of similarity of meaning. Some regard *meā rēfert* as equivalent to *ex meā rē fert*; *meā rē* has also been explained as a stereotyped Dative (§§ 86. b; 174), and even as a Nominative.

350. **Time Relations.**—The transference of the Locative from space relations to relations of time is easy and natural. In this way arose the notions of time *at which* and *within which*. The use of the Ablative to denote *duration of time*, which occurs with some little frequency in the best prose of all periods, e.g. Caesar,

*B. G. i. 26. 5, eāque tōtā nocte continenter iēruunt*, is probably not a development of the *time within which*, but is rather to be referred to an Instrumental origin. This use of the Instrumental to denote duration of time would correspond to the use of the Instrumental to denote the *way by which* (§ 341. 5).

**351. Locative of the Goal.**—Sanskrit and Greek both exhibit a goal use of the Locative. This is the result of extending to verbs of *motion* a conception primarily belonging only to verbs of *rest*. Cf. in English *he went among the Indians*, after *he is among the Indians*. Examples in Latin are confined chiefly to the archaic period. Thus, *forō pōnit* (Ennius); *locō collocāre* (Lucilius); *certā parte repōnunt* (Lucretius). Genuine Locative formations, *humī, domī, etc.*, also occur in this sense, *e.g. domī adveniēns*.

#### Surviving Locative Forms.

**352.** All the genuine Locative formations in common use are enumerated in *Gr.* § 232. Beside these we should probably recognize the Locative of an *u*-stem in *noctū*, and (by association with *noctū*) in *diū*. On *diē*, as the Locative of *dīēs* in such expressions as *quartī diē, postrīdiē* (for *posterī diē*), see § 256. 1. Plural formations in *-īs* from *ā*- and *ō*-stems are more safely regarded as Instrumentals which have taken on all the functions of the Ablative, Locative included. Plurals in *-ibus* of the Third Declension are certainly Ablative in form. Formations in *-e* of the Third Declension, *e.g. Sulmōne*, may (possibly) be original Locatives, or they may be Instrumentals; § 141.

#### THE MOODS.

##### THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

**353.** The Latin Subjunctive is the result of a fusion of two original moods of the Indo-European parent-speech, the Subjunctive and the Optative. Greek and Sanskrit kept these distinct from each other, but in Latin they early became merged in a

single mood endowed with the characteristic meaning of each. The following table indicates the origin of the different formations appearing in the so-called Subjunctive :

SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS.	OPTATIVE FORMS.
1. All regular Presents, <i>e.g. amem, moneam, regam, audiam</i> ; §§ 221 f.	1. Presents in <i>-im</i> , <i>e.g. sim, possim, nolim, mālim, velim, edim, duim</i> ;
2. All Imperfects, <i>e.g. essem, amārem, monērem, etc.</i> ; § 222. 3.	§ 218.
3. All Pluperfects, <i>e.g. amāvissem, dīxissem, etc.</i> ; § 222. 4.	2. All Perfects, <i>e.g. vīderim, amāverim, etc.</i> ; § 219.

**354. Original Force of the Subjunctive.** — The Indo-European Subjunctive exhibits two meanings which seem to have been the source of all others :

*a*) The Subjunctive expresses the will of the speaker, *e.g. surgat* = 'I will him to rise,' *i.e.* 'let him rise.' This use implies a certain power or authority on the part of the speaker, *i.e.* he is represented as willing something over which he has control or volition ; hence the name 'Volitive' has been given to characterize this use of the mood.

*b*) Alongside of this Volitive notion, the Indo-European Subjunctive also possessed a second force, — that of futurity. The Greek, particularly of the Homeric dialect, frequently exhibits this Future force of the Subjunctive ; but it is uncertain whether we should recognize it in Latin. In Latin the Subjunctive has a pure Future force only in subordinate clauses, and this may be traced to a different origin. Yet it should be borne in mind that the so-called Future *erō* was in reality a Present Subjunctive (§ 205. 3) ; also *audiam, regam, etc.* ; while the so-called Future Perfect is an Aorist Subjunctive (§ 216). All of these formations bear witness to a Future force as having once existed in the Latin Subjunctive.

The connection of meaning between the Future force and the Volitive force of the Indo-European Subjunctive is much closer than might at first appear. Thus the English *he's to go* clearly

stands on the border line between the two meanings, and may be interpreted either as Volitive, = *let him go*, or as Future, = *he will go*.

**355. Original Force of the Optative.** — Here we note two different, but closely related meanings, as in the case of the Subjunctive. Thus :

a) The Optative is used to express an act as wished for by the speaker, *e.g. veniat*, 'may he come!' The element of power, authority, and volition which characterizes the corresponding use of the Subjunctive is lacking here.

b) Alongside of the notion of *wishing*, we find both in Greek and in Latin another notion, *viz.* that of a contingent futurity, *e.g. aliquis dicat*, 'some one may say.' This is obviously a weaker type of Future than that belonging to the Subjunctive (in Greek), just as in its meaning of *wishing* the Optative expresses a weaker phase of thought than the Subjunctive.

**356.** It will be observed that the notion of *futurity* expressed by the Subjunctive is related to the notion of *willing* expressed by the same mood as the objective to the subjective. Thus when I employ *surgat* in its Volitive force the thought is expressed with reference to myself (subjective) = 'he's to stand up, and at my bidding,' *i.e.* 'let him stand up.' But *surgat* in its Future sense (assuming theoretically that this use once belonged to Latin) is used without reference to me (objective), = 'he's to stand up, and I have nothing to do with it,' *i.e.* 'he's going to stand up,' 'will stand up.'

So also in the case of the Optative. *Dicat aliquis* as a wish, in the sense 'May some one say' is subjective, *i.e.* it is conceived with reference to me; but *aliquis dicat*, 'some one may say,' is objective, *i.e.* is conceived as outside of, and apart from, me.

The two meanings, therefore, which we discover in the Subjunctive and Optative are in reality in each instance simply two phases (the subjective and the objective) of the same thought.

**357.** The so-called Latin Subjunctive, as an amalgamation of the original Indo-European Subjunctive and Optative, might naturally be expected to exhibit all four of the original significations, *viz.* :

Volitive	}	Indo-European Subjunctive.
Pure Future		
Optative	}	Indo-European Optative.
Contingent Future		

As a matter of fact it represents with certainty only three of them, *viz.* the Volitive, Optative, and Contingent Future ; and from these three primary uses are to be derived all existing Subjunctive constructions in Latin, not only in principal, but also in subordinate, clauses.

The absence of the Pure Future use of the Subjunctive in Latin may be accounted for by the fact that the Subjunctive in that use early came to be felt as Indicative, and as a result various Subjunctive formations actually became Indicatives, *erō, audiam, viderō, etc.* (§§ 205. 2, 3 ; 216). This transition to the Indicative of those Subjunctive forms which possessed the Pure Future force naturally resulted in the restriction of the remaining forms to the Volitive use.

## CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJUNCTIVE USES.

### SUBJUNCTIVE IN PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

#### A. Original Uses.

##### **358. 1. Volitive Subjunctive.**

a) Jussive, expressing a command. This use is found :

- 1) In the Third Singular and Third Plural of the Present tense, *e.g. loquātur*, 'let him speak' ; *loquantur*, 'let them speak.'
- 2) In the Second Singular Present, often with indefinite force, but not necessarily so. An example is *ūtāre vīribus*, 'use your strength,' *i.e.* 'let a man use his strength' (indefinite).

b) Of determined resolution. This rare usage is confined to the Present First Singular, *e.g.* Terence, *Hautoutimorumenos* 273 *manē: hōc quod coepī primum enārrem*, 'wait! I'm bound first to finish telling what I began.'

c) Hortatory. This is confined to the Present First Plural, and is a mingling of a) and b), *e.g.* *loquāmur*, 'let us speak,' *i.e.* 'I'm bound to speak, and do you speak.'

d) Prohibitive. The earlier theory as to the Prohibitive was that the Second Singular Perfect was employed of a definite Second Person, while the Second Singular Present had a general (or indefinite) force. This view has been shown to be false by the exhaustive examination of the subject by Elmer, *American Journal of Philology*, 1894, No. 3. Elmer's investigation has shown that neither construction is at all frequent in classical prose, and that the real difference of force between the two constructions is that stated in *Gr.* § 276.

e) Deliberative. This occurs in *affirmative* questions often implying doubt, indignation, *etc.*, *e.g.* *quid faciāmus*, 'what are we to do!' 'what can we do!' It seems natural to explain this as originally 'we are to do,—what?' 'you want us to do,—what?' *Cf.* the colloquial English, *what let's do?* for a similar development of a Volitive phrase to an interrogative form.

For derived uses of the Deliberative, see § 363.

f) Volitive clauses with concessive force, *e.g.* *nē sit māximum malum dolor, malum certē est*, 'granting that pain is not the greatest evil, it at least is an evil,' lit. 'let not pain,' *etc.*

g) Volitive clauses of proviso, *e.g.* *moderātiō vīrium adsit, nē ille dēsideriō vīrium nōn tenēbitur*, 'provided there be a moderate degree of strength, surely a man will not feel the lack of strength,' lit. 'let there be a moderate degree,' *etc.*

Some scholars attribute the last two uses to the Optative force of the Subjunctive, but the notion of will and authority regularly present in such clauses seems too strong to admit of that interpretation.



**359. Optative Subjunctive.** — The original use of the Optative is to denote a wish. This usage is mostly confined to the Third Plural of the Present, *e.g. sint felices*, 'may they be happy.'

**360. Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity.** — This corresponds to the second of the two meanings of the Indo-European Optative (§ 355. *b*). From this general notion have developed the following special uses :

*a*) Subjunctive of Pure Possibility, *e.g. aliquis dicat, aliquis dixerit*, 'some one may say.' This is the most obvious development of the notion of contingent futurity, but it is rare, being confined chiefly to phrases of the type cited in the above examples. As regards the use of tenses, it has been suggested that the Perfect (originally Aorist; § 219) lays stress upon the accomplishment of the act, while the Present calls attention to its progress.

*b*) Where some condition is implied or expressed, *e.g. velim*, 'I should wish,' *i.e.* 'if I were to have my way'; *dicās*, 'you would say,' *i.e.* 'if you should have occasion to express an opinion.' This use occurs also particularly in the First Singular of the Perfect (Aorist, § 219), *e.g. dixerim*, 'I should say'; *crediderim*, 'I should believe.' Where the condition is expressed, we get a Conditional Sentence of the Second Type (*Gr.* § 303), *e.g. laetēris, si veniat*, 'you would rejoice, if he should come.'

The name Potential is usually given to the Subjunctives cited under *a*) and *b*); but this name is somewhat inexact; see § 366.

### B. Derived Uses.

**361.** The uses here enumerated are secondary developments from those cited above in §§ 358 ff.

**362. Extension of the Jussive.** — Corresponding to the Jussive *loquātur* there developed an Imperfect use, *e.g. loquerētur*, in the sense 'he was to speak,' *i.e.* 'he should have spoken.' This use is manifestly a derived one, since one cannot now will a person

to have done in the past what he obviously has failed to do. An expression like *loqueretur*, therefore, must have been formed after the analogy of *loquatur*. The Pluperfect Subjunctive also occurs in this sense, e.g. *cum imitatus essēs*, 'you ought to have imitated him.' The Volitive character of these expressions is shown by the fact that the negative is regularly *nē*, e.g. *nē poposcissēs*, 'you ought not to have asked.'

**363. Extensions of the Deliberative.** — a) Corresponding to the Deliberative use of the Present Subjunctive, e.g. *quid faciāmus*, 'what are we to do?' we have secondarily *quid facerēmus*, 'what were we to do!' 'what could we do!' This usage is just as obviously secondary, as is *loqueretur* cited above in § 362.

b) Similarly all negative Deliberatives are of secondary origin. For if *cūr veniāmus* be explained as 'we are to come, — why!' then in negative sentences of this kind we should expect *nē* as the negative, if the sentence be originally Volitive. As a matter of fact the negative is regularly *nōn*, and this circumstance shows that the Volitive origin had been lost sight of at the time the negative Deliberative came into existence, i.e. negative Deliberative sentences are a secondary development from the affirmative type, not a direct development from the Volitive itself.

**364. Extension of the Concessive Volitive.** — Corresponding to *nē sint tīrēs in senectūte*, 'granting that there is not strength in old age,' we find the Perfect Subjunctive used with concessive force, e.g. *fuert aliīs, tibi quandō esse coepit?* 'granted that he was such to others, when did he begin to be so to you?'

It is obvious that this use is secondary, since a volition or act of willing cannot refer to the past. The use of the Perfect could have come into existence only after the concessive use of the Present had become a well-established idiom.

**365. Extension of the Optative.** — The use of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in expressions like *utinam tū valērēs*,

*utinam adfuissēs*, is also secondary. For if the primary force of the Optative was to denote a wish, it must have looked forward to the future; hence its employment with reference to the present and the past must be a derived usage, after the analogy of *sint fēlicēs*, etc.

The Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive, in expressions like those cited above, do not strictly express a wish, but rather a regret at the present non-existence or the previous non-occurrence of something.

### 366. Extensions of the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity. —

There are two derived uses :

a) The Present 2d Singular in the sense ‘you can, one can,’ e.g. *videās*, ‘you can see.’ In its origin, the Subjunctive of the Contingent Future denoted mere objective possibility, e.g. *dicās* = ‘there’s a possibility, you will say,’ ‘you may say.’ In the derived usage this objective possibility becomes subjective, — ‘you may’ becomes ‘you can.’ Strictly speaking, only the second of these is Potential. For potentiality involves capacity and control, which mere possibility does not.

b) The 2d Singular Imperfect. This is restricted to narrow limits, being found chiefly in such expressions as *vidērēs*, ‘one could see’; *cernērēs*, ‘one could observe’; *crēderēs*, ‘one could believe.’ The usage is an extension of a) above, and, like that, is Potential in the strict sense of that term.

### SUBJUNCTIVE IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES.

367. **Parataxis and Hypotaxis.** — In the earlier stages of language there were no subordinate clauses. Sentences were joined by co-ordination. For example, an independent use of the Indicative was followed by an independent use of the Subjunctive, or by another Indicative without any conjunction, e.g. *eōs monēō, dēsinant*, lit. ‘I warn them, let them cease.’ In course of time in such combinations the one clause came to be felt as subordinate, and

to be introduced by various connecting particles ('subordinate conjunctions'). The stage of co-ordination is called Parataxis; that of subordination, Hypotaxis. In Latin the *paratactic form* of expression often survives, even when the *hypotactic relation* has become clearly developed. This is especially noticeable in the early and colloquial language, but is found also in the best prose in certain categories of expression; see, for example, § 385.

All uses of the Subjunctive in subordinate clauses are naturally derived uses.

### Subjunctive of Purpose.

**368.** 1. The Subjunctive clause of Purpose is introduced by *ut*, *nē*, *quō*, *quī*, and Relative Adverbs. It was probably Jussive in origin, e.g. *tibi dō pecūniam ut panem emās* originally meant 'I give you money; just purchase bread.' The original force of *ut* here is somewhat uncertain. Probably it was a weak, Indefinite adverb meaning 'somehow,' 'just.' Cf. *ut* in *ut pereat*, 'may he just perish,' *uti-nam* in *utinam veniat*, 'may he just come!' This Indefinite force of *ut* bears the same relation to the Interrogative and Relative meanings 'how?' and 'as' of the same word, as the Indefinite *quis* bears to the Interrogative *quis* and the Relative *quī*.

In course of time the *ut*-clause came to be felt as subordinate to the other, and *ut* from being an adverb came to be felt as a subordinate conjunction. In this way arose the purpose clause with *ut*.

2. Negative clauses of purpose introduced by *nē* were quite analogous in origin to those introduced by *ut*. Thus *tibi obstō ne intrēs* probably meant originally 'I stand in your way; don't come in!' Ultimately this Parataxis developed into Hypotaxis.

3. *Quō* as an Ablative of Degree of Difference is regularly confined to use in connection with comparatives. The Subjunctive with *quō* arises in the same way as with other relatives. See 4.

4. *Quī*, *quae*, etc., in relative clauses of purpose had practically a demonstrative force, e.g. *tibi librum dō quem legās*, 'I give you a book to read,' originally meant 'I give you a book; read it!'

5. Relative Clauses with *dignus*, *indignus*, and *idoneus* have been classified in *Gr.* § 282. 3 under Relative Clauses of Purpose. This has been done partly on account of the meaning of such clauses, partly in view of the other constructions found with *dignus*, *idoneus*, etc. As regards the meaning of the relative clause with *dignus*, *indignus*, *idoneus*, it seems impossible to separate a sentence like *dat mihi sūrculōs quōs seram*, 'he gives me shoots to plant,' from *dat mihi sūrculōs dignōs quōs seram*, 'he gives me shoots fit to plant,' originally 'he gives me fit shoots, to plant.' So *hominēs dignōs tēgīt quōs mitteret* seems originally to have meant: 'he selected fit men, (in order) to send them,' and then, secondarily, 'he selected men fit to send.' In each case the Subjunctive clause is fairly one of Purpose. This view is further confirmed by the other constructions found with *dignus*, *idoneus*. Thus we repeatedly find an Infinitive employed with these words, e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 5. 45 *et puer ipse cantārī dignus*, 'worthy to be praised'; Pliny, *Paneg.* 7. 4, *dignus tēgī*, 'worthy to be chosen.' The Gerund with *ad* also occurs, e.g. Cic. *Rep.* i. 18. 30, *dignus ad imitandum*; and sometimes even an *ut*-clause, e.g. *erās dignus ut habērēs* (cited by Quintilian from an early author). The *ut*-clause cannot be regarded as one of Result in this and similar cases, as is done by Kühner, *Ausf. Gr.* ii. p. 858 *d*), since the action is viewed purely as one contemplated, not as one accomplished.

Some regard the relative clause with *dignus*, etc., as a Clause of Characteristic. It is of course quite true that *dignus*, with a following relative clause, does express a characteristic in a general way; but the relative clause itself is certainly not a Clause of Characteristic in the technical sense of that term. See § 371.

369. It is obvious that only those purpose clauses are of primitive origin in which the main clause and the subordinate clause refer to different persons. Thus in a sentence of the type *pecūniam mūtuo ut librōs emam, emam* cannot be referred directly

to a Volitive origin, since the Volitive Subjunctive is not naturally used to represent a person as exercising his authority and volition over himself. Sentences like the last, therefore, are more probably of later origin and formed upon the analogy of those cited in § 368.

### Clauses of Characteristic.

**370.** The Clause of Characteristic is a relative clause developed from the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity (§ 360). Thus in *nēmō est quī putet*, the original sense is: 'there is no one who would think'; so *sapientia est ūna quae maestitiam pellat*, 'philosophy is the only thing that would drive away sorrow.' But in all these cases the notion of contingency is so slight as easily to disappear, leaving the relative clause essentially one denoting a fact; see also § 406. 1.

**371. Clauses of Characteristic as Distinguished from Relative Clauses of Purpose.** — Difficulty is often experienced in distinguishing Clauses of Characteristic from Relative Clauses of Purpose. This difficulty results chiefly from the fact that a Relative Clause of Purpose may denote a characteristic of an antecedent in the general sense of the word *characteristic*. Thus in Cicero, *Brutus*, 56 *scrībēbat orātiōnēs quās alīi dicerent*, 'he wrote speeches for other persons to deliver,' the clause *quās alīi dicerent* is a Relative Clause of Purpose; but at the same time it does in a certain sense indicate a 'characteristic' of its antecedent. One essential difference between the Clause of Characteristic and the Relative Clause of Purpose consists in the fact that the former denotes an action or state *contemporary with* that of the main clause, while the Relative Clause of Purpose denotes an action which is *future* relatively to that of the main clause. In accordance with this principle expressions like *nihil habeo quod agam*, 'I have nothing to do' (Hor. *Sat.* i. 9. 19); *nūl sciō quod gaudeam*, 'I don't know anything to rejoice about'



(Plaut. *Capt.* 842) are Relative Clauses of Purpose. Did these sentences mean respectively 'I have nothing that I am doing' and 'I don't know anything that I am rejoicing about' (contemporary action), they would be Clauses of Characteristic.

At times we find sentences which are ambiguous. The syntactical nature of the relative clause will then depend upon the interpretation. A good example is Ter. *Phormio* 433 *habēbis quae tuam senectūtem oblectet*, either 'you will have some one who cheers' (Characteristic) or 'some one to cheer' (Purpose).

### 372. Clauses of Characteristic Denoting Cause or Opposition.

— In sentences like *ō fortunāte adulēscēns quī tuae virtūtis Homērum praeconem invēneris* there is an apparent violation of the principle that the Clause of Characteristic refers to 'an antecedent not otherwise defined' (*Gr.* § 283. 1); but in such cases as this we may explain the relative as referring to an indefinite antecedent to be supplied. According to this view the original force of the above sentence would have been: 'O! fortunate man, (one) who has found,' etc. The frequent employment of *ut quī*, *utpote quī*, etc., 'as being one who,' supports this view. The use of the Second Singular in the subordinate clause would then be a species of attraction.

**373. Clauses of Characteristic Introduced by Quīn.** — The treatment in *Gr.* § 283. 4 follows that of Brugmann in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. iv. p. 226 ff. Brugmann sees in the first element of this *quīn* an indeclinable Relative *quī*, which he thinks was capable of standing for any case either Singular or Plural. According to this view, *quīn* might be equivalent to *quī nōn*, *quae nōn*, *quod nōn*, etc.; the *quīn* mentioned in §§ 383, 391 must then be regarded as a separate word.

### Clauses of Result.

**374. Clauses of Result, introduced by *ut*, *ut nōn*, *quīn*, *quī*,** are a development of the Subjunctive of Contingent Future, *viz.* from



its second phase, where there is a condition implied (§ 360. *b*). Thus in the sentence *hōc flagitium tāle est ut quīvis ōderit*, the original meaning was: 'this outrage is of such a nature as anyone you please would hate' (*i.e.* if he should see it). From this to the meaning 'of such a nature that anybody you please hates it,' is an easy transition. Cf. in English, Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, 3. 2 *Who is here so base that would be a bondman?* *i.e.* *as to be a bondman*. See Hale, *Sequence of Tenses*, p. 24, who cites other illustrative uses from English and Greek.

**375. Relative Clauses of Result** are simply a development of the Clause of Characteristic. At times it is not easy to decide whether the clause is one of Characteristic or of Result, and individual interpretations of the same sentence would doubtless often differ. For example, in the sentence given in *Gr.* § 284. 2 *habētis eum cōsulem quī pārēre vestrīs dēcrētis nōn dubitet*, the clause *quī . . . dubitet* might be felt by some simply as a Clause of Characteristic, — 'a consul of the sort that'; but the clause also admits the interpretation 'a consul such that he does not hesitate'; and in that sense it is a clause of Result.

**376. Clauses of Result with Quīn.** — These are really Relative Clauses of Result, and differ from Clauses of Characteristic introduced by *quīn* just as ordinary Relative Clauses of Result differ from ordinary Clauses of Characteristic. Wherever the main clause contains *tam*, *tālis*, *etc.*, the Result notion is sufficiently clear.

#### Causal Clauses.

**377. Causal Clauses Introduced by Quod, Quia, Quoniam.** — When these take the Subjunctive, it is on the principle of Indirect Discourse.

**378. Causal Clauses Introduced by Cum.** — The Subjunctive with *cum*-causal is a development of the temporal *cum*-clause. The temporal notion easily passes into the causal in all languages.

*Cf. e.g.* in English 'When he saw ruin staring him in the face, he did not care to live,' *i.e.* 'since he saw,' *etc.*

### Clauses with Cum-Temporal.

**379.** The treatment in the *Grammar*, § 288 f., follows the elaborate and convincing exposition of Hale in his *Cum-Constructions*, *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. i. (Ginn & Co.). Hale shows that the *cum*-clause is simply a form of the Clause of Characteristic. *Cum*, earlier *quom* (*Gr.* § 9. 1), is a form of the Relative stem *quo-*, and, as such, was quite as capable of introducing a Clause of Characteristic as was any other Relative word. Thus the Subjunctive *cum*-clause primarily characterized a time by giving the situation existing at that time, just as any other Clause of Characteristic. The Indicative *cum*-clause, on the other hand, like the Indicative *quī*-clause, was primarily a defining clause and hence used to denote *a point of time or date*.

### Clauses Introduced by Antequam and Priusquam, and by Dum, Dōnec, and Quoad.

**380.** Where these are followed by the Subjunctive, Hale (*The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*, *Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. i., University Press of Chicago [printed separately], p. 68 ff.) recognizes a survival in Latin of the Indo-European Subjunctive in its Pure Future phase,—a phase conspicuously present in Homeric Greek. Others refer the Mood to the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity (the second of the two uses of the Indo-European Optative; § 360).

### SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES.

#### Substantive Clauses Developed from the Volitive.

**381.** Many of these are often regarded as Substantive Clauses of Purpose. Such a designation implies either that the clauses in question *are* Purpose Clauses or once *were* such; neither of these

alternatives represents the truth. With the exception of the clauses mentioned in *Gr.* § 295. 3, all the substantive clauses included in § 295 are the developments of an earlier parataxis (see § 367), in which the Subjunctive was Volitive (Jussive, Deliberative, *etc.*) in nature.

**382.** The earliest form of these clauses would be represented by such examples as *tē ōrō; eum juvēs*, lit. 'I entreat you; help him!' Sometimes, especially in early Latin and in the poets, we find the inverted order, *e.g. eum juvēs, tē ōrō*, 'help him! I entreat you.' In both instances the Volitive character of the Subjunctive is clearly apparent. Sentences of the type *tē ōrō ut eum juvēs*, are a later development, the *ut* being added after the Subjunctive had come to be felt as an object clause and as needing some introductory particle. This need of an introductory particle in affirmative clauses of this kind would be felt the more keenly, since in negative clauses, *e.g. tē ōrō nē abeās* (originally 'I entreat you; don't go away!'), the *nē* had come to be felt as a subordinate conjunction; at the outset, of course, it was a mere negative adverb.

**383. Substantive Clauses Introduced by Quōminus and Quīn after Verbs of *hindering*.**—As explained in *Gr.* § 295. 3 *a*, clauses of this sort are probably developed from genuine Purpose Clauses. However, they have their ultimate origin in the Volitive, since the Purpose Clause is a development from the Volitive (§ 368. 1). The original character of Subjunctive clauses of this kind may be seen in an expression like *formūdō virōs impedit quōminus velint*, originally: 'fear hinders men, in order that they may not be willing,' *i.e.* prevents them from being willing. *Quōminus* lit. means 'by which the less, by which not,' and hence 'in order that not.'

Clauses with *quīn* after verbs of *hindering* are apparently of the same nature as clauses with *quōminus*. *Quīn* is compounded of *quī* (an old Instrumental) and *ne*, lit. 'by which not,' 'that not,'

‘lest.’ In signification it is nowise different from *quōminus*. In fact, after verbs of *hindering* accompanied by a negative, *quōminus* and *quīn* may be used interchangeably without difference of meaning. Thus Cic. *de Sen.* 17. 60 *nec aetās impedit quōminus agrī colendī studia teneāmus*, ‘nor does old age prevent us from continuing the pursuits of farming’; but *Auct. ad Herenn.* iii. 1. 1 *nē impediāris quīn prōgredi possis*, ‘that you may not be prevented from being able to advance.’

Clauses introduced by *quīn* after negative expressions of *hindering* are sometimes classified as Result Clauses. Such a classification is inconsistent; for *tē impediō quōminus faciās* is regularly taken by all grammarians as a Purpose Clause. If it is, then *nec tē impediō quōminus faciās* must also be a Purpose Clause, for the mere prefixing of the negative to *impediō* cannot alter the relation of the *quōminus*-clause to its verb. But *nec tē impediō quōminus faciās* may be expressed with perfect equivalence by *nec tē impediō quīn faciās*. Hence the two types should not be dissociated in treatment.

It is of course true that in its developed meaning the *quīn*-clause after negative expressions of *hindering* does at times seem to indicate a (negative) result, e.g. *nec impediti sunt quīn facerent* may be conceived as literally meaning ‘nor were they prevented so that they didn’t do.’ But this conception is just as possible in case of *quōminus*-clauses after negative expressions of *hindering*, and even more so in case of *quōminus*-clauses after affirmative expressions of *hindering*. Thus, *tē impediō quōminus haec faciās* might theoretically be conceived as meaning ‘I hinder you so that you do not do this.’ But *quō minus* is clearly a purpose particle, so that the original purpose character of the *quōminus* clause seems beyond question. Any consistent treatment of Substantive clauses must have regard to their origin, not merely to the English rendering. Thus, in a sentence like *eīs persuāsit ut exirent*, ‘he persuaded them to go out,’ the *ut*-clause might seem at first sight to indicate a Result, but an examination of

such clauses clearly shows that they are developed from the Jussive.

Clauses introduced by *nē* after verbs of *hindering* are not necessarily developed from the Jussive, as suggested in *Gr.* § 295. 3. This is the more probable view; but it is also possible that, like *quōminus* and *quīn*-clauses, they have been developed from Purpose Clauses.

**384. Substantive Clauses after Verbs of *deciding, resolving*, etc.** (*Gr.* § 295. 4).—The Volitive origin of these is seen in such sentences as *Sall. Cat.* 29. 2 *senātus dēcrēvit operam darent cōsulēs*, 'the senate decreed: let the consuls take heed!' *Ter. Eun.* 578 *ēdīcit nē vir quisquam ad eam adeat*, 'he issues the order: let no man go near her!'

**385. Substantive Clauses after Verbs of *striving, caring for*, etc.** (*Gr.* § 295. 5).—Expressions like *fac cōgitēs*, 'see to this, reflect!' (*Sall. Cat.* 44. 5) point to the Volitive origin of these clauses. *Cūrā nē quid dēsīt* originally meant 'Take care: let nothing be wanting!'

**386. Substantive Clauses after *necesse est, reliquum est* and *sequitur*, 'it remains,' *licet, oportet*** (*Gr.* § 295. 6).—The Volitive origin of the Subjunctive in clauses with *necesse est, licet, oportet*, is seen in the regular retention in classical prose of the early type of expression without *ut* (§ 382), *viz. dīcam necesse est*, 'it is necessary that I speak' (lit., let me speak; it is necessary'). *Cic. de Or.* iii. 22. 85; *taceat oportebit*, 'it will be fitting that he keep silent' (lit. 'let him keep silent; it will be fitting'), *Cic. de Or.* iii. 21. 79; *fateāre necesse est*, 'confess! you must,' *Lucr.* iii. 275.

Where *sequitur* means 'it remains,' 'the next thing is,' the *ut*-clause is a development from the Volitive, *e.g. sequitur ut doceam*, 'it remains for me to show,' *Cic. Nat. De.* ii. 32. 80.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Sequitur* in the sense 'it follows that' takes a Substantive Clause of Result; § 390.

So also with *reliquum est*, e.g. *reliquum est, ut egomet mihi cōsulam*, 'it remains for me to look out for myself,' Nep. *Att.* 21. 5. This view of these clauses is confirmed by the occurrence of the early form of expression without *ut* (§ 382), e.g. Cic. *ad Fam.* xv. 21. 6 *reliquum est tuam profectiōnem amōre prōsequar.*<sup>1</sup>

**387. Substantive Clauses in Sentences of the Type:** *nūlla causa est cūr, nūlla causa est quārē*, etc. (*Gr.* § 295. 7). — These have been explained as developed from the Deliberative. This is the view, among others, of Schmalz (*Lat. Synt.* § 308), and is supported by the history of these clauses. Cf. e.g. Cic. *ad Fam.* ii. 17. 1 *quīn dēcēdam nūlla causa est*, originally 'why shouldn't I go away! There's no reason,' later 'there's no reason why I shouldn't go away.' Cf. Ter. *Andria* 600 *quid causae est, quīn in pīstrīnum proficīscar*, 'what reason is there why I shouldn't set out for the mill!' originally 'what reason is there? Why shouldn't I set out?'

#### Substantive-Clauses Developed from the Optative.

**388. After Verbs of wishing and desiring** (*Gr.* § 296. 1). — The Optative origin of these Substantive clauses is sufficiently evident. It should be noted, however, that in comedy and colloquial language *volō* sometimes has the force of *commanding* (cf. the English authoritative *I want*, e.g. in *I want you to understand*). In such cases the Substantive clause with *volō* must be referred to a Volitive origin, e.g. *volō eam dūcās*, 'I want you to marry her.'

**389. After Verbs of fearing** (*Gr.* § 296. 2). — Instructive for the history of the construction are such early Latin uses as Ter. *Andr.* 277 *Haud verear sī in tē sit sōlō situm: sed ut vim queās ferre*, 'I should not fear, if it were to depend on you alone; but

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<sup>1</sup> *Reliquum est* in the sense 'the fact remains that' takes a Substantive Clause of Result; § 390.

may you be able to withstand compulsion'; 705 *diēs hīc mī ut satis sit vereor ad agendum*, 'may this day be sufficient (I'm afraid though).'

### Substantive Clauses of Result.

390. Expressions like *efficiō ut intellegātis*, lit. 'I bring it to pass (in such a way) that you know,' and *accidit ut aegrōtāret*, 'it so happened that he was ill,' show clearly the origin of the Substantive Clause of Result. But the Result notion early became weakened in these clauses, and the substantive notion became so prominent that Substantive Clauses introduced by *ut* occur where not only no notion of Result exists, but where it never could have existed, e.g. *vērissimile nōn est ut ille antepōneret*, 'it's not likely that he preferred'; *accēdit ut doleam*, 'another fact is that I am suffering'; *praeclārum est ut eōs amēmus*, 'it's a noble thing that we love them'; *reliquum est ut virtūs sit frūgālītās*, 'the fact remains that economy is a virtue.'

### Substantive Clauses Introduced by Quīn.

391. In the expressions *nōn dubitō quīn, quis dubitat quīn, nōn est dubium quīn, haud dubium est quīn*, the *quīn*-clause is probably developed from the Deliberative Subjunctive. Thus *quis dubitat quīn in virtūte divitiarū sint* originally meant 'why shouldn't there be riches in virtue! who doubts it?' It seems difficult to find any ground in the history or signification of these clauses for regarding them as Clauses of Result.

### Indirect Questions.

392. The origin of the Subjunctive in Indirect Questions is not yet clear. The construction is manifestly a relatively late one in the development of Latin syntax. Plautus and Terence more frequently employ the Indicative in such sentences, unless there be some reason for the Subjunctive.



## Conditional Sentences.

**393.** The treatment in the *Grammar* follows the traditional classification, which has regard exclusively to what is implied in the Protasis in each instance.

**394.** Conditional sentences are the development of an earlier Parataxis (§ 367). Thus we may assume that the earliest type of *sī valet, bene est* was *bene est, valet*, 'it is well; he is well.' The conditional force was purely the result of the context, which indicated that *valet* was something assumed. As language developed, the fact that one clause was related to the other as an assumption or condition was brought out more definitely by the use of *sī*; yet conditional sentences without *sī* occur with more or less frequency in all stages of the Latin language (*Gr.* § 305. 2). They are simply a relic of the earlier paratactic stage. The origin of the conjunctive use of *sī* was as follows: *Sī* was originally an adverb meaning *so*. It is etymologically identical with English *so*, and by formation was a Locative, *\*sva-i*, from the Indo-European root *svā-*. This *\*svai* regularly became *sī*; § 104. 2. The most primitive type of a conditional sentence with *sī* would be seen in *bene est sī, valet, i.e.* 'it is well so (*viz.* that), he is well.' In this expression *sī* limits *bene est*, and *valet* is really an appositive of the adverbial idea in *sī*. The use of *sī* as a conjunction is secondary and the result of its association. With *sī cf.* English *so* in such expressions as *so you pay me, I shall be satisfied*.

**395. Conditional Sentences of the Second Type.**—Here the Subjunctive in the Protasis was originally Jussive in character. Thus a sentence like *sī videat, crēdat* would, in its earliest form, have been *videat, crēdāt*, lit. 'let him see (*i.e.* assuming he should see), he would then believe.' The Apodosis is the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity, conventionally called 'Potential.'

**396. Conditional Sentences of the Third Type.**—The origin of this type is obscure. Perhaps the Protasis was originally an

Optative, *i.e.* *sī adesset, bene esset*, lit. 'O that he were here! it would be well.'

The employment of *oportuit, decuit, dēbēbam*, and of the Indicative of the Periphrastic Conjugations in Apodoses of Conditional Sentences of this type is frequently the result of ellipsis. Thus in *sī Pompējus occīsus esset, fuistisne ad arma itūrī*, the thought is 'were you about to proceed to arms (and would you have done so?) had Pompey been slain?' So in *eum patris locō colere dēbēbās, sī ūlla in tē pietās esset* the full sense is: 'it was your duty to revere him (and you would now be doing it), had you any sense of devotion.'

#### Clauses of Proviso with *Dum, Modo, Dummodo*.

**397.** These were all originally Jussive. Thus in *manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria*, the original sense was: 'let only interest and vigor remain! (then) old men's faculties remain.' *Dum* was originally an oblique case of a noun meaning 'while.' Hence in *oderint, dum metuant*, the original sense was 'let them fear the while! (then) they may hate.' Some regard the clause of Proviso with *dum* as originally temporal ('while'). But that view fails to account for the use of the Subjunctive, and also ignores the fact that the negative with the *dum*-clause of Proviso is always *nē*.

#### USE OF MOODS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.<sup>1</sup>

**398.** A relative clause represents a kind of subordination which, in its original and simplest form, differs from co-ordination only in the substitution of a relative pronoun, adjective, or adverb for the corresponding demonstrative or personal pronoun. The expression *ille est homō quī fēcit*, 'he is the man who did it,' is in every respect exactly like *ille est homō; ille fēcit*, 'he is the man; he

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<sup>1</sup> This treatment of Relative Sentences is the friendly contribution of my colleague, Professor Elmer.

did it,' except that *quī* has taken the place of *ille*. Such a transition from parataxis to hypotaxis is well illustrated in English by the history of the word *that*, which, though originally only a demonstrative pronoun, has come to be frequently felt also as a relative.

The earlier history of the Latin language shows an increasing fondness for the relative construction. In the classical period this tendency had become so pronounced that the relative was often used to introduce a sentence that was logically quite independent, e.g. Cic. *de Sen.* 3. 8 *nec hercule, sī ego Serīphius essem, nec tū, sī Athēniēnsis, clārus unquam fuissēs. Quod eōdem modō dē senectūte dīcī potest*, — instead of *hōc . . . potest*.

This use of the relative to introduce a logically independent sentence is almost unknown in Plautus, but becomes more common in Terence, and reaches its height in the time of Cicero.

While relative clauses in their earliest stage could be replaced by grammatically independent clauses, they gradually acquired functions which the corresponding independent clauses did not perform. We may accordingly divide Relative Clauses (both Indicative and Subjunctive) into those of original and those of developed types.

#### INDICATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES.

**399.** An Indicative Relative Clause may :

- 1) Inform one of a fact.
- 2) Refer for various purposes to a fact presumably already known.
- 3) Assume a fact.

#### A. Original Uses.

**400. 1. The Determining Clause.** — This apparently was used in connection with some object to which the speaker was pointing or at which he was looking. The clause then identified that ob-

ject as the one with reference to which the act or state expressed by the clause was true. Two independent clauses, each introduced by a demonstrative, would express this relation equally well. Cf. *That is the man that did it*, in which the second *that* originally corresponded exactly to the Demonstrative *ille*, but later came to be felt as subordinating its clause and so equivalent to the Relative *quī*.

2. **Clauses Adding Information or a Statement of Fact.**—These may be subdivided as follows :

a) Parenthetical clauses that interrupt for a moment the train of thought, e.g. Livy xxii. 13. 11 *nec abnuēbant, quod ūnum vinculum fidei est, meliōribus pārēre*, 'nor did they refuse (and this forms the only bond of fidelity) to obey their betters.'

b) Independent clauses that carry forward the train of thought, e.g. *nec hercule, sī ego Serīphius essem, nec tū, sī Athēniēnsis, clārus umquam fuissēs. Quod eōdem modō dē senectūte dīcī potest.*

3. **Causal and Adversative Clauses.**—It is commonly stated that these clauses require the Subjunctive ; yet they often admit the Indicative, e.g. (causal) Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 30 *Ō tē ferreum quī illius periculīs nōn movēris*, 'O you hard-hearted man, who (*i.e.* since you) are not moved' ; (adversative) Cic. *Phil.* i. 9. 23 *quae quidem ego, quī illa numquam probāvī, tamen cōservanda arbitrātus sum*, 'enactments which, though I never approved them, I nevertheless thought ought to be maintained.' See Hale, *The Cum-Constructions*, p. 114 ff. The difference between the Indicative and the Subjunctive in such clauses seems to be that the Indicative calls to mind the fact without special reference to its logical relation to the principal clause, while the Subjunctive brings this relation into prominence.

## B. Developed Uses.

401. 1. **Determining Clause of the Developed Type.**—This clause serves as a means by which, without further aid, one may distinguish from all other objects one particular object (or sev-

eral particular objects). For this purpose it mentions some act or state which is, for the moment at least, exclusively associated with the object referred to, e.g. *ille quī in Catilinam orationēs scripsit annōs trēs et sexagintā vixit*. This sentence cannot be divided into two independent assertions, as can the clause of the original type. Two such sentences as *ille in Catilinam orationēs scripsit; ille annōs trēs et sexagintā vixit*, would, without the presence of the person referred to or further explanation, be meaningless. On the other hand, the clause with the Relative is complete in itself.

2. **Clause Equivalent to Sī with the Indicative.** — This clause deals not with any individual case, but with an assumed indefinite case. It takes the Indicative wherever a *sī*-clause would take this mood under similar circumstances, e.g. *quī valet, fortunātus est*, 'the man who has good health is blest' (= *sī quis valet, etc.*). This usage probably arose through the medium of the determining clause.

3. **Restrictive Clauses having Attinet, Est, Potest, as their Verb**, e.g. *ut se tōta rēs habeat, quod ad eam civitatem attinet, demonstrābitur*, 'how the whole matter stands as regards that state, will be shown.' For the Subjunctive in restrictive clauses, see § 406. I. N. I.

**402.** It should be carefully noted that any Indicative relative clause of whatever type may characterize the antecedent of the Relative. Examples:

1) Determining and characterizing, *tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annōs rem publicam exēdere*, here 'the (particular) things which,' etc. This *quae*-clause is *primarily* determinative, *incidentally* characterizing. If it had had the Subjunctive *exēderint*, the clause would have been primarily characterizing and the meaning would have been: 'things were found which' instead of 'the (particular) things which.' See below under Subjunctive uses, § 406. I.

2) Parenthetical and characterizing, e.g. *ego, quī sum longē fortior, famē pereō*. Here the *quī*-clause is a parenthetical statement that characterizes the antecedent. It may be laid down as a rule (to which exceptions are rare) that a characterizing clause takes the Indicative when it may be dropped without impairing the sense of the main clause. In the sentence last given, *ego pereō famē* is complete in itself without the addition of the *quī*-clause. See Hale, *The Cum-Constructions*, pp. 85, 94, 138.

3) Conditional and characterizing, e.g. *neque enim est ūlla fortitūdō, quae ratiōnis est expers*, 'for there is no bravery, which lacks reason,' i.e. 'if it lacks reason,' whence the Indicative. In such conditional clauses, however strongly characterizing they may be, the Subjunctive is rare and confined almost exclusively to clauses with negative antecedents. See Hale, *The Cum-Constructions*, p. 133.

We may say, generally speaking, that three things are necessary to throw a characterizing clause into the Subjunctive (except where the Subjunctive would be used in the corresponding paratactical form of expression): First, it must be essential to the thought of the main clause; secondly, its characterizing function must be primary, not incidental; thirdly, it must not be equivalent to an Indicative clause with *sī*. Characterizing clauses that do not fulfil these three conditions stand, with rare exceptions, in the Indicative.

#### SUBJUNCTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES.

**403.** A Subjunctive Relative Clause may give expression:

- 1) To somebody's will.
- 2) To a possibility.
- 3) To a future contingency.
- 4) To actual facts (with or without a causal or adversative bearing upon the main clause).

Any one of these clauses may be used to characterize the antecedent of the Relative.

## A. Original Uses.

## 404. 1. Representing an Independent Volitive.

a) Relative Clause of Purpose, e.g. *mīlītēs missī sunt quī oppidum capiant*, 'the soldiers have been sent to take the town.' The *quī*-clause here represents an independent *illī capiant*, 'they shall take (let them take) the town.' Cf. the identical development of *ut*-clauses of Purpose, § 368.

b) Volitive Characterizing Clause, e.g. Cic. *de Sen.* 43 *quī iūdicābant esse profectō aliquid nātūrā pulchrum atque praeclārum, quod suā sponte peterētur, quodque optimus quisque sequerētur*, 'these were of opinion that there surely existed some lofty and noble ideal, to be sought for its own sake, and for all the best men to pursue.' The *quod*-clauses here represent independent Volitive Subjunctives meaning: 'let this be sought'; 'let all good men pursue this.' Such clauses should be carefully distinguished from relative clauses denoting pure purpose, as in the example given under a).

c) Clause equivalent to *sī* with the Subjunctive. Examples: *nūlla tam facilis rēs, quān difficilis siet, quam invītus faciās*, 'nothing is so easy that it does not become difficult, if you do it against your will,' lit. 'assuming you do it'; *philosophia, cui quī pāreat omne tempus sine molestiā possit dēgere*, i.e. if one should obey philosophy, etc.

For further illustration of the Volitive Origin of such clauses, see § 395.

2. Characterizing Clause Representing an Independent Potential, e.g. *est unde fiat*, 'there exists that by means of which it may (can) be done.' The *unde fiat* here represents an independent *inde fiat*, 'by that means it may (can) be done,' which ascribes certain possibilities to the means referred to in *inde*, i.e. characterizes them.

This form of clause is rare, its place being commonly taken by some form of *potest* with the Infinitive.



### 3. Clauses Developed from a Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity.

a) Characterizing Clause of Contingent Futurity, *e.g. ille est quī nōn mentiātur*, 'that's a man who would not deceive.' Here *quī nōn mentiātur* represents an independent *ille nōn mentiātur*, 'that man would not deceive.'

b) Characterizing Clause of Obligation or Propriety, *e.g. nihil est quod gaudeās*, originally, 'there is no reason why one would rejoice (if one were to act with propriety),' hence 'no reason why one should rejoice, ought to rejoice.'

**405.** Hale, in his recently published *Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*, expresses himself in favor of recognizing a new class of relative clauses developed from the Anticipatory Subjunctive, *i.e.* from the phase of the Indo-European Subjunctive which had pure Future force (see § 354). As illustrations of this type he cites: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 286 f. *nāscētur pulchrā Trōjānus orīgine Caesar, imperium Oceanō, fāmam quī terminet astrīs*, 'who shall bound,' *etc.*; *Eclogues*, 4. 34 f. *alter erit tum Tīphys, et altera quae vehat Argō dēlectōs hērōas*, 'and a second Argo, which shall carry,' *etc.* Others regard such clauses as a secondary development of Purpose Clauses.

### B. Developed Uses.

**406.** These are all outgrowths of the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity. Here belong:

1. Characterizing Clauses Asserting an Actual Fact (technically designated as 'The Clause of Characteristic'; *Grammar*, § 283; *App.* § 370), *e.g. ille est quī nōn mentiātur*, 'he's a man who doesn't deceive.' This represents an easy transition from the original meaning of such clauses (*cf.* § 404. 3. a), *viz.* 'a man who would not deceive (under any circumstances).'

NOTE 1. A still further development of these clauses is represented by such expressions as *Catōnis orātiōnēs quās quidem invē-*

*nerim*, lit. 'the speeches of Cato that I have discovered,' i.e. 'at least so far as I have discovered them.' Here the characterizing clause has weakened into one that merely restricts. Strictly speaking, the discovery of the speeches has nothing to do with their character.

NOTE 2. A clause that is *primarily* characterizing may be *incidentally* determinative. See § 402.

2. **Causal Clauses**, e.g. *miserum senem, quī tam longā in vitā mortem contemnendam esse nōn vīderis*, 'O pitiable old man, who (since you) have not even in so long a life discovered that death ought to be regarded with indifference.' This use probably began with some such expression as *Clōdus contemnendus est, quī quaelibet faciat, ut inimicum expellat*, 'Clodius should be treated with scorn, who (since he) would stoop to anything whatever to get rid of a personal foe.' Such a *quī*-clause would easily come to mean 'who stoops to anything,' etc. A feeling might then naturally arise that any *quī*-clause bearing a causal relation to the main clause might take the Subjunctive.

For the difference of meaning between the Indicative and the Subjunctive in causal *quī*-clauses, see § 400. 3.

3. **Adversative Clauses**.—The Subjunctive in these clauses has had a history similar in every way to that of the Subjunctive in causal clauses.

For the difference of meaning between the Indicative and the Subjunctive in adversative *quī*-clauses, see § 400. 3.

407. It will be understood that what has been said of *quī*-clauses applies equally to relative clauses introduced by *ubi*, *quō*, *unde*, etc.



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